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THE

WORKS

OF

Alexander Pope Esq.

VOLUME III.

CONTAINING HIS

MORAL ESSAYS.

LONDON,

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MDCCL.

THE
WORKS
OF
ALEXANDER POPE

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MORAL ESSAYS

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Contents of the Third Volume.

ESSAY on MAN, in FOUR EPISTLES.

- EPISTLE I. *Of the nature and state of man with
respect to the universe* 1
EPISTLE II. *Of the nature and state of man with
respect to himself, as an individual* 25
EPISTLE III. *Of the nature and state of man with
respect to society* 48
EPISTLE IV. *Of the nature and state of man with
respect to happiness* 71

MORAL ESSAYS.

- EPISTLE I. *Of the knowledge and characters of
MEN.* 107
EPISTLE II. *Of the characters of WOMEN* 126
EPISTLE III. *Of the use of RICHES* 145
EPISTLE IV. *Of the use of RICHES* 180
EPISTLE V. *To Mr Addison, occasioned by his
dialogues on MEDALS* 200

Contents of the Third Volume.

ESSAY ON MAN: IN FOUR PARTS.

Part I. Of the Liberty and Necessity of Reason. 1
Part II. Of the Liberty and Necessity of Reason. 1
Part III. Of the Liberty and Necessity of Reason. 1
Part IV. Of the Liberty and Necessity of Reason. 1

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Part III. Of the Liberty and Necessity of Reason. 1
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Part II. Of the Liberty and Necessity of Reason. 1
Part III. Of the Liberty and Necessity of Reason. 1
Part IV. Of the Liberty and Necessity of Reason. 1
Part V. Of the Liberty and Necessity of Reason. 1
Part VI. Of the Liberty and Necessity of Reason. 1
Part VII. Of the Liberty and Necessity of Reason. 1
Part VIII. Of the Liberty and Necessity of Reason. 1
Part IX. Of the Liberty and Necessity of Reason. 1
Part X. Of the Liberty and Necessity of Reason. 1

AN
ESSAY
ON
SATIRE,

Occasioned by the Death of

Mr POPE.

Inscribed to

Mr WARBURTON.

By J. BROWN, A. M.

CONTENTS
OF
ON

S. A. T. I. R. E.

Continued by the Death of

MR. P. O. P. E.

Interpretation of the
of the

MR. W. A. R. B. U. R. T. O. N.

MR. J. B. R. O. W. N.

of the

of the

CONTENTS.

PART I.

OF the End and Efficacy of Satire. *The Love of Glory and Fear of Shame universal, § 29. This Passion, implanted in Man as a Spur to Virtue, is generally perverted, § 41. And thus becomes the Occasion of the greatest Follies, Vices, and Miseries, § 61. It is the Work of Satire to rectify this Passion, to reduce it to its proper Channel, and to convert it into an Incentive to Wisdom and Virtue, § 89. Hence it appears, that Satire may influence those who defy all Laws Human and Divine, § 99. An Objection answered, § 131.*

PART II.

Rules for the Conduct of Satire. *Justice and Truth its chief and essential Property, § 169. Prudence in the Application of Wit and Ridicule, whose Province is, not to explore unknown, but to enforce known Truths, § 191. Proper Subjects of Satire are the Manners of present Times, § 239. Decency of Expression recommended, § 255. The different Methods in which Folly and Vice ought to be chastised, § 269. The Variety of Style and Manner which these two Subjects require, § 277. The Praise of Virtue may be admitted with Propriety, § 315. Caution with regard to Panegyrick, § 329. The Dignity of true Satire, § 341.*

PART III.

The History of Satire. Roman *Satirists*, Lucilius, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, § 357, etc. *Causes of the Decay of Literature, particularly of Satire*, § 389. *Revival of Satire*, § 401. Erasmus one of its principal Restorers, § 405. Donne, § 411. *The Abuse of Satire in England, during the licentious Reign of Charles II.* § 415. Dryden, § 429. *The true Ends of Satire pursued by Boileau in France*, § 439; and by Mr Pope in England, § 445.



P A R T I.

FATE gave the Word ; the cruel arrow sped ;
 And POPE lies number'd with the mighty Dead !
 Resign'd he fell ; superior to the dart,
 That quench'd its rage in YOUR's and BRITAIN's
 Heart :

YOU mourn : but BRITAIN, lull'd in rest profound,
 (Unconscious Britain !) slumbers o'er her wound. 6
 Exulting Dulness ey'd the setting Light,
 And flapp'd her wing, impatient for the Night :
 Rouz'd at the signal, Guilt collects her train,
 And counts the Triumphs of her growing Reign: 10
 With inextinguishable rage they burn ;
 And Snake-hung ENVY hisses o'er his Urn :
 Th' envenom'd Monsters spit their deadly foam,
 To blast the Laurel that surrounds his Tomb.

But YOU, O WARBURTON ! whose eye refin'd 15
 Can see the greatness of an honest mind ;
 Can see each Virtue and each Grace unite,
 And taste the Raptures of a *pure* Delight ;

x ESSAY ON SATIRE.

You visit oft his awful Page with Care,
And view that bright Assemblage treasur'd there; 20
You trace the Chain that links his deep Design,
And pour new Lustre on the glowing Line.
Yet deign to hear the efforts of a Muse,
Whose eye, not wing, his ardent flight pursues;
Intent from this great Archetype to draw 25
SATIRE's bright Form, and fix her equal Law;
Pleas'd if from hence th' unlearn'd may comprehend,
And rev'rence His and SATIRE's gen'rous End.

In ev'ry Breast there burns an active flame,
The Love of Glory, or the Dread of Shame: 30
The Passion ONE, tho' various it appear,
As brighten'd into Hope, or dimm'd by Fear.
The lisping Infant, and the hoary Sire,
And Youth and Manhood feel the heart-born fire:
The Charms of Praise the Coy, the Modest woos, 35
And only fly, that Glory may pursue:
She, Pow'r resistless, rules the wise and great,
Bends ev'n reluctant Hermits at her feet;
Haunts the proud City, and the lowly Shade,
And sways alike the Scepter and the Spade. 40

Thus Heav'n in Pity wakes the friendly Flame,
To urge Mankind on Deeds that merit Fame:

ESSAY ON SATIRE.

xi

But Man, vain Man, in folly only wise,
 Rejects the Manna sent him from the Skies :
 With rapture hears corrupted Passion's call, 45
 Still proudly prone to mingle with the stall.
 As each deceitful shadow tempts his view,
 He for the *imag'd* Substance quits the *true* ;
 Eager to catch the visionary Prize,
 In quest of Glory plunges deep in Vice ; 50
 'Till madly zealous, impotently vain,
 He forfeits ev'ry Praise he pants to gain.

Thus still imperious NATURE plies her part ;
 And still her Dictates work in ev'ry heart.
 Each Pow'r that sov'reign Nature bids enjoy, 55
 Man may corrupt, but Man can ne'er destroy.
 Like mighty rivers, with resistless force
 The Passions rage, obstructed in their course ;
 Swell to new heights, forbidden paths explore,
 And drown those Virtues which they fed before. 60

And sure, the deadliest Foe to Virtue's flame,
 Our worst of Evils, is *perverted Shame*.
 Beneath this load what abject numbers groan,
 Th' entangled Slaves to folly not their own !
 Meanly by fashionable Fear oppress'd, 65
 We seek our Virtues in each other's breast ;

Blind to ourselves, adopt each foreign Vice,
 Another's weakness, int'rest, or caprice.
 Each Fool to low Ambition, poorly great,
 That pines in splendid wretchedness of state, 70
 Tir'd in the treach'rous Chase, would nobly yield,
 And, but for Shame, like SYLLA, quit the field:
 The Dæmon *Shame* paints strong the ridicule,
 And whispers close, "*the World will call you Fool.*"

Behold, yon Wretch, by impious fashion driv'n, 75
 Believes and trembles while he scoffs at Heav'n.
 By weakness strong, and bold thro' fear alone,
 He dreads the sneer by shallow Coxcombs thrown;
 Dauntless pursues the path *Spinoza* trod;
 To Man a Coward, and a Brave to God. 80

Faith, Justice, Heav'n itself now quit their hold,
 When to false Fame the captiv'd heart is sold:

IMITATIONS.

VER. 80. *To Man a Coward, etc.*]

*Vois tu ce Libertin en public intrepide,
 Qui preche contre un Dieu que dans son Ame il croit ?
 Il iroit embrasser la Verité, qu'il voit ;
 Mais de ses faux Amis il craint la Raillerie,
 Et ne brave ainsi Dieu que par Poltronnerie.*

BOILEAU, Ep. iii.

Hence, blind to truth, relentless *Cato* dy'd;
 Nought could subdue his Virtue, but his Pride.
 Hence chaste *Lucretia*'s Innocence betray'd 85
 Fell by that Honour which was meant its aid.
 Thus Virtue sinks beneath unnumber'd woes,
 When Passions, born her friends, revolt her foes.

Hence SATIRE's pow'r: 'Tis her corrective part,
 To calm the wild disorders of the heart. 90
 She points the arduous height where Glory lies,
 And teaches mad Ambition to be wise:
 In the dark bosom wakes the fair desire,
 Draws good from ill, a brighter flame from fire;
 Strips black Oppression of her gay disguise, 95
 And bids the Hag in native horror rise;
 Strikes tow'ring Pride and lawless Rapine dead,
 And plants the wreath on Virtue's awful head.

Nor boasts the Muse a vain imagin'd Pow'r,
 Tho' oft she mourn those ills she cannot cure. 100
 The Worthy court her, and the Worthless fear;
 Who shun her piercing eye, that eye revere.
 Her awful Voice the Vain and Vile obey,
 And ev'ry Foe to Wisdom feels her sway.
 Smarts, Pedants, as she smiles, no more are vain; 105
 Desponding Fops resign the clouded cane:

Hush'd at her voice, pert Folly's self is still,
 And Dulness wonders while she drops her quill.
 Like the arm'd BEE, with art most subtly true,
 From poys'nous Vice she draws a healing dew : 110
 Weak are the ties that civil arts can find,
 To quell the ferment of the tainted mind :
 Cunning evades, securely wrapt in wiles ;
 And force strong-sinew'd rends th' unequal toils :
 The stream of vice impetuous drives along, 115
 Too deep for Policy, for Pow'r too strong.
 Ev'n fair Religion, Native of the Skies,
 Scorn'd by the Crowd, seeks refuge with the Wise ;
 The Crowd with laughter spurns her awful train,
 And Mercy courts, and Justice frowns in vain. 120
 But SATIRE's shaft can pierce the harden'd breast :
 She plays a *ruling passion* on the rest :
 Undaunted storms the batt'ry of his pride,
 And awes the *Brave* that Earth and Heav'n defy'd.
 When fell Corruption, by her vassals crown'd, 125
 Derides fall'n Justice prostrate on the ground ;

IMITATIONS.

VER. 110. *From poys'nous Vice, etc*] Alluding to these
 Lines of Mr Pope ;

In the nice Bee what Art so subtly true
 From poys'nous Herbs extracts a healing Dew ?

ESSAY ON SATIRE.

xv

Swift to redress an injur'd People's groan,
 Bold SATIRE shakes the Tyrant on her throne;
 Pow'rful as Death, defies the sordid train,
 And Slaves and Sycophants surround in vain. 130

But with the friends of Vice, the foes of SATIRE,
 All truth is spleen; all just reproof, Ill-nature.

Well may they dread the Muse's fatal skill;
 Well may they tremble when she draws her quill:
 Her magic quill, that, like ITHURIEL's spear, 135
 Reveals the cloven hoof, or lengthen'd ear:
 Bids Vice and Folly take their natural shapes,
 Turns Duchesses to strumpets, Beaux to apes;
 Drags the vile Whisp'rer from his dark abode,
 Till all the Dæmon starts up from the toad. 140

O sordid maxim, form'd to screen the vile,
 That true good-nature still must wear a smile!
 In frowns array'd her beauties stronger rise,
 When love of Virtue wakes her scorn of Vice:
 Where Justice calls, 'tis Cruelty to save; 145
 And 'tis the Law's good-nature hangs the Knave.
 Who combats Virtue's foe is Virtue's friend:
 Then judge of SATIRE's merit by her end:

To Guilt alone her vengeance stands confin'd,
 The object of her love is all Mankind. 150
 Scarce more the friend of Man, the wise must own
 Ev'n ALLEN's bounteous hand, than SATIRE's frown:
 This to chastise, as That to bless, was giv'n;
 Alike the faithful Ministers of Heav'n.

Of in unfeeling hearts the shaft is spent: 155
 Tho' strong th' example, weak the punishment.
 They least are pain'd, who merit satire most;
 Folly the *Laureat's*, Vice was *Chartres'* boast:
 Then where's the wrong, to gibbet high the name
 Of Fools and Knaves already dead to shame? 160
 Oft SATIRE acts the faithful Surgeon's part;
 Gen'rous and kind tho' painful is her art:
 With caution bold, she only strikes to heal,
 Tho' Folly raves to break the friendly steel.
 Then sure no fault impartial SATIRE knows, 165
 Kind ev'n in Vengeance, kind to Virtue's foes.
 Whose is the crime, the scandal too be theirs:
 The Knave and Fool are their own Libellers.

P A R T II.

DARE nobly then: But conscious of your trust,
 As ever warm and bold be ever just: 170
 Nor court applause in these degen'rate days:
 The Villain's censure is extorted praise.

But chief, be steady in a noble end,
 And shew Mankind that Truth has yet a friend.
 'Tis mean for empty praise of wit to write, 175
 As Foplings grin to show their Teeth are white:
 To brand a doubtful folly with a smile,
 Or madly blaze unknown defects, is vile:
 'Tis doubly vile, when, but to prove your art,
 You fix an arrow in a blameless heart. 180
 O lost to honour's voice, O doom'd to shame,
 Thou Fiend accurs'd, thou Murderer of Fame!

Fell Ravisher, from Innocence to tear
 That name, than liberty, than life more dear!
 Where shall thy baseness meet its just return, 185
 Or what repay thy guilt, but endless scorn!

And know, immortal Truth shall mock thy toil:
 Immortal Truth shall bid the shaft recoil;
 With rage retorted, wing the deadly dart;
 And empty all its Poyson in thy heart.

190

With caution next, the dang'rous pow'r apply;
 An eagle's talon asks an eagle's eye:
 Let SATIRE then her proper object know,
 And ere she strike, be sure she strike a foe.
 Nor fondly deem the real fool confest,
 Because blind *Ridicule* conceives a jest:
 Before whose altar Virtue oft hath bled,
 And oft a destin'd Victim shall be led:
 Lo, *Shaftsb'ry* rears her high on Reason's throne,
 And loads the Slave with honours not her own: 200
 Big-swoln with folly, as her smiles provoke,
 Prophaneness spawns, pert Dunces nurse the joke!
 Come, let us join a while this tittering crew,
 And own the *Idiot Guide* for once is true;
 Deride our weak forefather's musty rule,
 Who *therefore* smil'd, *because* they saw a Fool; 205
 Sublimier logic now adorns our isle,
 We *therefore* see a Fool, *because* we smile.
 Truth in her gloomy Cave why fondly seek?
 Lo, gay she sits in Laughter's dimpled cheek: 210

ESSAY ON SATIRE.

xix

Contemns each furly Academic foe,
And courts the spruce Freethinker and the Beau.
Dædalian arguments but few can trace,
But all can read the Language of grimace.
Hence mighty Ridicule's all-conqu'ring hand 215
Shall work *Herculean* wonders thro' the Land:
Bound in the magic of her cobweb chain,
You, mighty WARBURTON, shall rage in vain,
In vain the trackless maze of Truth You scan,
And lend th' informing Clue to erring Man: 220
No more shall Reason boast her pow'r divine,
Her Base eternal shook by Folly's mine!
Truth's sacred Fort th' exploded laugh shall win;
And Coxcombs vanquish BERKLEY by a grin.

But you, more sage, reject th' inverted rule; 225
That truth is e'er explor'd by Ridicule:
On truth, on falsehood let her colours fall,
She throws a dazzling glare alike on all;
As the gay Prism but mocks the flatter'd eye,
And gives to ev'ry object ev'ry dye. 230
Beware the mad Advent'rer: bold and blind
She hoists her sail, and drives with ev'ry wind;
Deaf as the Storm to sinking Virtue's groan,
Nor heeds a Friend's destruction, or her own.

Let clear-ey'd Reason at the helm preside, 235
 Bear to the wind, or stem the furious tide;
Then Mirth may urge, when Reason can explore,
This point the way, *that* waft us glad to shore.

Tho' distant Times may rise in SATIRE's page,
 Yet chief 'tis Her's to draw the *present Age*: 240
 With Wisdom's lustre, Folly's shade contrast,
 And judge the reigning Manners by the past:
 Bid *Britain's* Heroes (awful Shades!) arise,
 And ancient Honour beam on modern Vice:
 Point back to minds ingenuous, actions fair, 245
 Till the Sons blush at what their Fathers were:
 Ere yet 'twas beggary the great to trust;
 Ere yet 'twas quite a folly to be just;
 When *low-born* Sharpers only dar'd a lye,
 Or falsify'd the card, or cogg'd the dye; 250
 Ere Lewdness the stain'd garb of Honour wore,
 Or Chastity was carted for the Whore;
 Vice flutter'd, in the plumes of Freedom dress'd;
 Or public Spirit was the public jest.

Be ever, in a just expression, bold, 255
 Yet ne'er degrade fair SATIRE to a Scold:
 Let no unworthy mien her form debase,
 But let her smile, and let her frown with grace:

ESSAY ON SATIRE.

xxi

In mirth be temp'rate, temp'rate in her spleen;
 Nor, while she preaches modesty, obscene. 260
 Deep let her wound, not rankle to a sore,
 Nor call his Lordship —, her Grace a —:
 The Muse's charms resistless then assail,
 When wrapt in *Irony's* transparent veil:
 Her beauties half-conceal'd the more surprize, 265
 And keener lustre sparkles in her eyes.
 Then be your line with sharp encomiums grac'd:
 Style *Clodius* honourable, *Bufo* chaste.

Dart not on Folly an indignant eye:
 Who e'er discharg'd Artillery on a Fly? 270
 Deride not Vice: Absurd the thought and vain,
 To bind the Tyger in so weak a chain.
 Nay more: when flagrant crimes your laughter move,
 The Knave exults: to smile is to approve.
 The Muse's labour then success shall crown, 275
 When Folly feels her smile, and Vice her frown.

Know next what Measures to each Theme belong,
 And suit your thoughts and numbers to your song:
 On wing proportion'd to your quarry rise,
 And stoop to earth, or soar among the skies. 280
 Thus when a modish folly you rehearse,
 Free the expression, simple be the verse.

In artless numbers paint th' ambitious Peer
 That mounts the box, and shines a Charioteer :
 In strains familiar sing the midnight toil 285
 Of Camps and Senates disciplin'd by *Hoyle* ;
 Patriots and Chiefs, whose deep design invades
 And carries off the captive King — of *Spades* !
 Let SATIRE here in milder vigour shine,
 And gayly graceful sport along the line ; 290
 Bid courtly Fashion quit her thin pretence,
 And smile each Affectation into sense.

Not so when Virtue by her Guards betray'd,
 Spurn'd from her Throne, implores the Muse's aid :
 When *crimes*, which erst in kindred darkness lay,
 Rise frontless, and insult the eye of day ; 296
 Indignant *Hymen* veils his hallow'd fires,
 And white-rob'd Chastity with tears retires ;
 When rank Adultery on the genial bed
 Hot from *Cocytus* rears her baleful head : 300
 When private Faith and publick Trust are sold,
 And Traitors barter Liberty for gold :
 When fell Corruption dark and deep, like fate,
 Saps the Foundation of a sinking State :
 When Giant-Vice and Irreligion rise, 305
 On mountain'd false-hoods to invade the Skies :
 Then warmer numbers glow thro' SATIRE's page,
 And all her smiles are darken'd into rage :

ESSAY ON SATIRE.

xxiii

On eagle-wing she gains *Parnassus*' height,
Not lofty EPIC soars a nobler flight: 310

Then keener indignation fires her eye;
Then flash her lightnings, and her thunders fly;
Wide and more wide her flaming bolts are hurl'd,
Till all her wrath involves the guilty World.

Yet SATIRE oft assumes a gentler mien, 315
And beams on Virtue's friends a smile serene:
She wounds reluctant; pours her balm with joy;
Glad to commend where Worth attracts her eye.
But chief, when *Virtue*, *Learning*, *Arts* decline,
She joys to see *unconquer'd* Merit shine; 320

Where bursting glorious, with departing ray,
True Genius gilds the close of Britain's Day:
With joy she sees the stream of Roman art
From MURRAY's tongue flow purer to the heart:
Sees YORKE to Fame, e'er yet to Manhood known,
And just to ev'ry virtue, but his own: 326
Hears unstain'd CAM with generous pride proclaim
A SAGE's, CRITIC's, and a POET's name:
Beholds, where WIDCOMBE's happy hills ascend,
Each orphan'd Art and Virtue find a friend: 330
To HAGLEY's honour'd Shade directs her view;
And culls each flow'r, to form a Wreath for You.

But tread with cautious step this dang'rous ground,
Beset with faithless precipices round:

Truth be your guide : disdain Ambition's call ; 335

And if you fall with Truth, you greatly fall.

'Tis Virtue's *native lustre* that must *shine* ;

The Poet can but *set it* in his line :

And who unmov'd with laughter can behold

A *sordid pebble* meanly grac'd with *gold* ? 340

Let *real* Merit then adorn your lays,

For Shame attends on prostituted praise :

And all your wit, your most distinguish'd art

But makes us grieve you want an honest heart.

Nor think the Muse by SATIRE's Law confin'd :

She yields description of the noblest kind. 346

Inferior art the Landskip may design,

And paint the purple ev'ning in the line :

Her daring thought essays a higher plan ;

Her hand delineates Passion, pictures Man. 350

And great the toil, the latent soul to trace,

To paint the heart, and catch internal grace ;

By turns bid Vice or Virtue strike our eyes,

Now bid a *Wolsey* or a *Cromwel* rise ;

Now with a touch more sacred and refin'd, 355

Call forth a *CHESTERFIELD*'s or *LONSDALE*'s mind.

Here sweet or strong may ev'ry Colour flow :

Here let the pencil warm, the canvass glow :

Of light and shade provoke the noble strife,

And wake each striking feature into life. 360

P A R T III.

THRO' Ages thus hath SATIRE keenly shin'd,
 The Friend to Truth, to Virtue, and Mankind:
 Yet the bright flame from Virtue ne'er had sprung,
 And Man was guilty ere the Poet sung.
This Muse in silence joy'd each better Age, 365
 Till glowing crimes had wak'd her into rage.
 Truth saw her honest spleen with new delight,
 And bade her wing her shafts, and urge their flight.
 First on the Sons of *Greece* she prov'd her art,
 And *Sparta* felt the fierce IAMBICK dart^a. 370
 To LATIUM next, avenging SATIRE flew:
 The flaming faulchion rough LUCILIUS^b drew;
 With dauntless warmth in Virtue's cause engag'd,
 And conscious Villains trembled as he rag'd.

NOTES.

^a Archilocus proprio rabies armavit Iambo. Hor.

^b Ense velut stricto quoties Lucilius ardens
 Infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens est
 Criminibus, tacita sudant præcordia culpa. Juv. S. i.

Then sportive HORACE^c caught the gen'rous fire;
 For SATIRE's bow resign'd the sounding lyre: 376
 Each arrow polish'd in his hand was seen,
 And, as it grew more polish'd, grew more keen.
 His art, conceal'd in study'd negligence,
 Politely fly, cajol'd the foes of sense: 380
 He seem'd to sport and trifle with the dart,
 But while he sported, drove it to the heart.

In graver strains majestick PERSIUS wrote,
 Big with a ripe exuberance of thought:
 Greatly sedate, contemn'd a Tyrant's reign, 385
 And lash'd corruption with a calm disdain.

More ardent eloquence, and boundless rage,
 In flame bold JUVENAL's exalted page,
 His mighty numbers aw'd corrupted Rome,
 And swept audacious Greatness to its doom; 390
 The headlong torrent thund'ring from on high,
 Rent the proud rock that lately brav'd the sky.

NOTES.

- ^c Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
 Tangit, et admissus circum præcordia ludit,
 Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso. PERS. S. i.

But lo ! the fatal Victor of Mankind,
 Swoln *Luxury* ! — pale *Ruin* stalks behind !
 As countless Insects from the north-east pour, 395
 To blast the Spring, and ravage ev'ry flow'r :
 So barb'rous Millions spread contagious death :
 The sick'ning Laurel wither'd at their breath.
 Deep Superstition's night the skies o'erhung,
 Beneath whose baleful dews the Poppy sprung. 400
 No longer Genius woo'd the Nine to love,
 But Dulness nodded in the Muse's grove :
 Wit, Spirit, Freedom, were the sole offence,
 Nor aught was held so dangerous as Sense.

At length, again fair Science shot her ray, 405
 Dawn'd in the skies, and spoke returning day.
 Now, SATIRE, triumph o'er thy flying foe,
 Now load thy quiver, string thy slacken'd bow !
 'Tis done — See, great ERASMUS breaks the spell,
 And wounds triumphant Folly in her Cell ! 410
 (In vain the solemn Cowl surrounds her face,
 Vain all her bigot cant, her sour grimace)
 With shame compell'd her leaden throne to quit,
 And own the force of Reason urg'd by Wit. 414

'Twas then plain DONNE in honest vengeance rose,
 His Wit harmonious, tho' his Rhyme was prose :

xxviii ESSAY ON SATIRE.

He 'midst an Age of Puns and Pedants wrote
With genuine sense, and *Roman* strength of thought.

Yet scarce had SATIRE well relum'd her flame,
(With grief the Muse records her Country's shame)
Ere *Britain* saw the foul revolt commence, 421
And treach'rous Wit began her war with Sense.
Then rose a shameless mercenary train,
Whom latest Time shall view with just disdain:
A race fantastick, in whose gaudy line 425
Untutor'd thought, and tinsel beauty shine;
Wit's shatter'd Mirror lies in fragments bright,
Reflects not Nature, but confounds the sight.
Dry Morals the Court-Poet blush'd to sing:
'Twas all his praise to say, "*the oddest thing.*" 430
Proud for a jest obscene, a Patron's nod,
To martyr Virtue, or blaspheme his God.

Ill-fated DRYDEN! who unmov'd can see
Th' extremes of wit and meanness join'd in Thee.
Flames that could mount, and gain their kindred skies,
Low-creeping in the putrid sink of vice: 436
A Muse whom Wisdom woo'd, but woo'd in vain,
The Pimp of Pow'r, the Prostitute to Gain:
Wreaths, that should deck fair Virtue's form alone,
To Strumpets, Traitors, Tyrants, vilely thrown: 440

ESSAY ON SATIRE. xxix

Unrival'd Parts, the scorn of honest fame;
And Genius rise, a Monument of shame!

More happy *France*: immortal BOILEAU there
Supported Genius with a Sage's care:
Him with her love propitious SATIRE blest, 445
And breath'd her airs divine into his breast:
Fancy and Sense to form his line conspire,
And faultless Judgment guides the purest Fire.

But see, at length, the *British* Genius smile,
And show'r her bounties o'er her favour'd Isle: 450
Behold for POPE she twines the laurel crown,
And centers ev'ry Poet's pow'r in one:
Each *Roman*'s force adorns his various page;
Gay smiles, collected strength, and manly rage.
Despairing Guilt and Dulness loath the fight, 455
As Spectres vanish at approaching light:
In this clear Mirror with delight we view
Each image justly fine, and boldly true:
Here Vice, dragg'd forth by Truth's supreme decree,
Beholds and hates her own deformity: 460
While self-seen Virtue in the faithful line
With modest joy surveys her form divine.
But oh, what thoughts, what numbers shall I find,
But faintly to express the Poet's mind!

Who yonder Star's effulgence can display, 465
Unless he dip his pencil in the ray?
Who paint a God, unless the God inspire?
What catch the Lightning, but the speed of fire?
So, mighty POPE, to make thy Genius known,
All pow'r is weak, all numbers — but thy own. 470
Each Muse for thee with kind contention strove,
For thee the Graces left th' IDALIAN grove;
With watchful fondness o'er thy cradle hung,
Attun'd thy voice, and form'd thy infant tongue.
Next, to her Bard majestic Wisdom came; 475
The Bard enraptur'd caught the heav'nly flame:
With Taste superior scorn'd the venal tribe,
Whom fear can sway, or guilty Greatness bribe;
At Fancy's call who rear the wanton sail,
Sport with the stream, and trifle in the gale: 480
Sublimar views thy daring Spirit bound;
Thy mighty Voyage was Creation's round;
Intent new Worlds of Wisdom to explore,
And bless Mankind with Virtue's sacred store;
A nobler joy than Wit can give, impart; 485
And pour a moral transport o'er the heart.
Fantastick Wit shoots momentary fires,
And, like a Meteor, while we gaze, expires:
Wit kindled by the sulph'rous breath of Vice,
Like the blue lightning, while it shines, destroys:

ESSAY ON SATIRE.

xxx

But Genius, fir'd by Truth's eternal ray, 491
 Burns clear and constant, like the source of day:
 Like this, its beam prolifick and refin'd
 Feeds, warms, inspirits, and exalts the mind;
 Mildly dispels each wint'ry Passion's gloom, 495
 And opens all the Virtues into bloom.
 This Praise, immortal POPE, to thee be giv'n:
 Thy Genius was indeed a *Gift* from Heav'n.
 Hail, Bard unequal'd, in whose deathless line
 Reason and Wit with strength collected shine; 500
 Where matchless Wit but wins the second praise,
 Lost, nobly lost, in Truth's superior blaze.
 Did FRIENDSHIP e'er mislead thy wand'ring Muse?
 That Friendship sure may plead the *great* excuse:
 That sacred Friendship which inspir'd thy Song, 505
 Fair in defect, and *amiably* wrong.
 Error like this ev'n Truth can scarce reprove;
 'Tis almost Virtue when it flows from Love.

Ye deathless Names, ye Sons of endless praise,
 By Virtue crown'd with never-fading bays! 510
 Say, shall an artless Muse, if you inspire,
 Light her pale lamp at your immortal fire?
 Or if, O WARBURTON, inspir'd by You,
 The daring Muse a nobler path pursue,

xxxii ESSAY ON SATIRE.

By You inspir'd, on trembling pinion soar, 515

The sacred founts of social bliss explore,

In her bold numbers chain the Tyrant's rage,

And bid *her Country's Glory* fire her page :

If such her fate, do thou, fair *Truth*, descend,

And watchful guard her in an honest end : 520

Kindly severe, instruct her equal line

To court no Friend, nor own a Foe but *thine*.

But if her giddy eye should vainly quit

Thy sacred paths, to run the maze of wit ;

If her apostate heart should e'er incline 525

To offer incense at Corruption's shrine ;

Urge, urge thy pow'r, the black attempt confound,

And dash the smoking Censer to the ground.

Thus aw'd to fear, instructed Bards may see,

That Guilt is doom'd to sink in Infamy. 530

AN
ESSAY
ON
MAN:

TO

H. ST JOHN L. BOLINGBROKE.

ERRATA.

- Page 45 γ 265 for penty *r.* plenty
 46 l. 1 after passion *dele the comma*
 52 l. 6 for parts *r.* part
 78 not. on γ 79 l. 3 for paraphrasis *r.* periphrasis
 83 not. l. 3 for fearching *r.* searching
 95 not. from Longinus l. 1 for $\dot{\upsilon}\psi\eta\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ *r.* $\dot{\upsilon}\psi\eta\gamma\omicron\varsigma$
 105 Quotation from Horace l. 2 for lassis *r.* lassas
 167 not. on γ 219, 220 col. 1. l. ult. for with
r. without

THE DESIGN.

HAVING propos'd to write some pieces on Human Life and Manners, such as (to use my lord Bacon's expression) *come home to Men's Business and Bosoms*, I thought it more satisfactory to begin with considering *Man* in the abstract, his *Nature* and his *State*; since, to prove any moral duty, to enforce any moral precept, or to examine the perfection or imperfection of any creature whatsoever, it is necessary first to know what *condition* and *relation* it is placed in, and what is the proper *end* and *purpose* of its *being*.

The science of Human Nature is, like all other sciences, reduced to a *few clear points*: There are not *many certain truths* in this world. It is therefore in the Anatomy of the mind as in that of the Body; more good will accrue to mankind by attending to the large, open, and perceptible parts, than by studying too much such finer nerves and vessels, the conformations and uses of which will for ever escape our observation. The *disputes* are all upon these last, and, I will venture to say, they have less sharpened the *wits* than the *hearts* of men against each other, and have diminished the practice, more than advanced the theory, of Morality. If I could flatter myself that this Essay has any merit, it is in steering betwixt the extremes of doctrines seemingly opposite, in passing over terms utterly unintelligible, and in forming a *temperate* yet not *inconsistent*, and a *short* yet not *imperfect* system of Ethics.

THE DESIGN.

This I might have done in prose; but I chose verse, and even rhyme, for two reasons. The one will appear obvious; that principles, maxims, or precepts so written, both strike the reader more strongly at first, and are more easily retained by him afterwards: The other may seem odd, but is true, I found I could express them more *shortly* this way than in prose itself; and nothing is more certain, than that much of the *force* as well as *grace* of arguments or instructions, depends on their *conciseness*. I was unable to treat this part of my subject more in *detail*, without becoming dry and tedious; or more *poetically*, without sacrificing perspicuity to ornament, without wandering from the precision, or breaking the chain of reasoning: If any man can unite all these without diminution of any of them, I freely confess he will compass a thing above my capacity.

What is now published, is only to be considered as a *general Map* of MAN, marking out no more than the *greater parts*, their *extent*, their *limits*, and their *connection*, but leaving the particular to be more fully delineated in the charts which are to follow. Consequently, these Epistles in their progress (if I have health and leisure to make any progress) will be less dry, and more susceptible of poetical ornament. I am here only opening the *fountains*, and clearing the passage. To deduce the *rivers*, to follow them in their course, and to observe their effects, may be a task more agreeable.

AN
ESSAY on MAN,
 IN
FOUR EPISTLES,
 TO
H. St John, Lord Bolingbroke.

ARGUMENT OF
EPISTLE I.

*Of the Nature and State of Man with respect to the
 UNIVERSE.*

*OF Man in the abstract.—I. That we can judge only
 with regard to our own system, being ignorant of the
 relations of systems and things, § 17, &c. II. That
 Man is not to be deemed imperfect, but a Being
 suited to his place and rank in the creation, agreeable
 to the general Order of things, and conformable to
 Ends and Relations to him unknown, § 35, &c.
 III. That it is partly upon his ignorance of future*

events, and partly upon the hope of a future state, that all his happiness in the present depends, § 77, &c.

IV. The pride of aiming at more knowledge, and pretending to more Perfection, the cause of Man's error and misery. The impiety of putting himself in the place of God, and judging of the fitness or unfitness, perfection or imperfection, justice or injustice, of his dispensations, § 109, &c.

V. The absurdity of conceiving himself the final cause of the creation, or expecting that perfection in the moral world, which is not in the natural, § 131, &c.

VI. The unreasonableness of his complaints against Providence, while on the one hand he demands the Perfections of the Angels, and on the other the bodily qualifications of the Brutes; though, to possess any of the sensitive faculties in a higher degree, would render him miserable, § 173, &c.

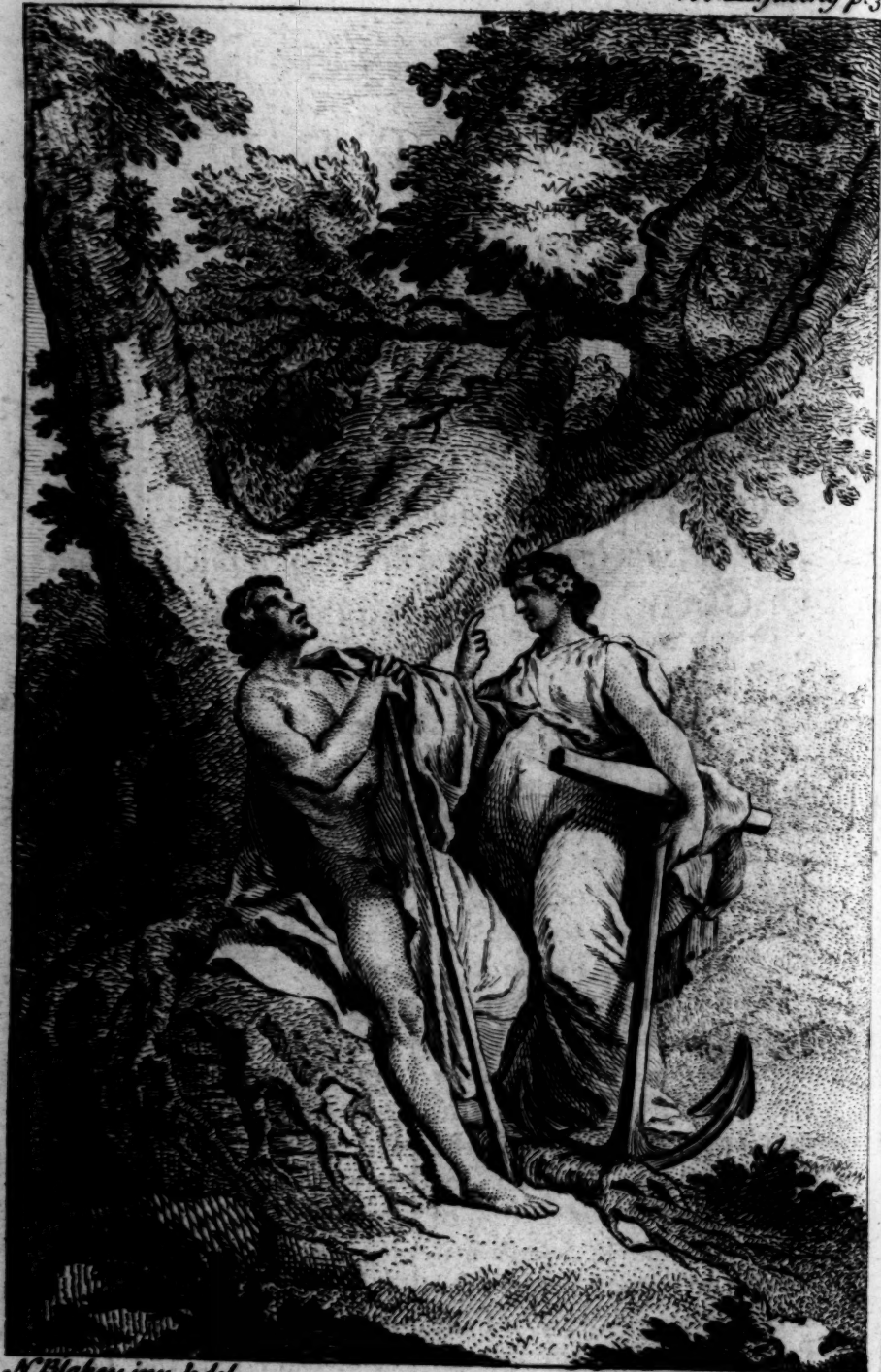
VII. That throughout the whole visible world, an universal order and gradation in the sensual and mental faculties is observed, which causes a subordination of creature to creature, and of all creatures to Man. The gradations of sense, instinct, thought, reflection, reason; that Reason alone countervails all the other faculties, § 207.

VIII. How much farther this order and subordination of living creatures may extend, above and below us; were any part of which broken, not that part only, but the whole connected creation must be destroyed, § 233.

IX. The extravagance, madness, and pride, of such a desire, § 250.

X. The consequence of all, the absolute submission due to Providence, both as to our present and future state, § 281, &c. to the end.





N. Blakey inv. & del.

Ravenet sculp.

HOPE humbly then; with trembling Pinions soar;
Wait the great teacher Death; and God adore!

Essay on Man, Ep. I.

E P I S T L E I.

A WAKE, my ST JOHN! leave all meaner things
 To low ambition, and the pride of Kings.
 Let us (since Life can little more supply
 Than just to look about us and to die)
 Expatiate free o'er all this scene of Man ; 5
 A mighty maze ! but not without a plan ;
 A Wild, where weeds and flow'rs promiscuous shoot ;
 Or Garden, tempting with forbidden fruit.

NOTES.

The Opening of this poem, in fifteen lines, is taken up in giving an account of the Subject ; which, agreeably to the title, is an *ESSAY* on MAN, or a Philosophical Enquiry into his *Nature and End*, his *Passions and Pursuits*.

The Exordium relates to the whole work, of which the *Essay on Man* was only the first book. The 6th, 7th, and 8th lines allude to the subjects of this *Essay*, viz. the general Order and Design of Providence ; the Constitution of the human Mind ; the origin, use, and end, of the Passions and Affections, both selfish and social ; and the wrong pursuits of Power,

Pleasure, and Happiness. The 10th, 11th, 12th, &c. have relation to the subjects of the books intended to follow, viz. the Characters and Capacities of Men, and the Limits of Learning and Ignorance. The 13th and 14th, to the Knowledge of Mankind, and the various Manners of the age.

VER. 7, 8. *A Wild,—Or Garden,*] The *Wild* relates to the human *passions*, productive (as he explains in the second epistle) both of good and evil. The *Garden*, to human *reason*, so often *tempting* us to transgress the bounds God has set to it, and wander in fruitless enquiries.

Together let us beat this ample field,
 Try what the open, what the covert yield; 10
 The latent tracts, the giddy heights, explore
 Of all who blindly creep, or sightless soar;
 Eye Nature's walks, shoot Folly as it flies,
 And catch the Manners living as they rise;
 Laugh where we must, be candid where we can; 15
 But vindicate the ways of God to Man.

I. Say first, of God above, or Man below,
 What can we reason, but from what we know?
 Of Man, what see we but his station here,
 From which to reason, or to which refer? 20

NOTES.

VER. 12. *Of all who blindly creep, &c.*] i. e. Those who only follow the blind guidance of their Passions; or those who leave behind them common sense and sober reason, in their high flights through the regions of Metaphysics. Both which follies are exposed in the fourth epistle, where the popular and philosophical errors concerning Happiness are spoken of. The figure here is taken from animal life.

VER. 15. *Laugh where we must, &c.*] Intimating

that human follies are so strangely absurd and ridiculous, that it is not in the power of the most *compassionate*, on some occasions, to restrain their mirth: And that human crimes are so flagitious, that the most *candid* have seldom an opportunity, on this subject, to exercise their virtue.

VER. 19, 20.

*Of Man, what see we but his station here,
 From which to reason, or to which refer?*]

The sense is, *we see nothing of Man, but as he stands at*

EP. I. ESSAY ON MAN. 5

Thro' worlds unnumber'd tho' the God be known,
 'Tis ours to trace him only in our own.
 He, who thro' vast immensity can pierce,
 See worlds on worlds compose one universe,
 Observe how system into system runs, 25
 What other Planets circle other suns,
 What vary'd Being peoples ev'ry star,
 May tell why Heav'n has made us as we are.
 But of this frame the bearings, and the ties,
 The strong connections, nice dependencies, 30
 Gradations just, has thy pervading soul
 Look'd thro' ? or can a part contain the whole ?

NOTES.

present in his station here : From which station, all our reasonings on his nature and end must be drawn ; and to this station they must be all referred. The consequence is, all our reasonings on his nature and end must needs be very imperfect.

VER. 21. *Thro' worlds unnumber'd, &c.] Hunc cognoscimus solummodo per Proprietates suas & Attributa, & per sapientissimas & optimas rerum structuras & causas finales. Newtoni Princ. Schol. gen. sub fin.*

VER. 30. *The strong con-*

nections, nice dependencies,]
 The thought is very noble, and expressed with great philosophic beauty and exactness. The system of the Universe is a combination of *natural* and *moral* Fittestnesses, as the human system is of *body* and *spirit*. By the *strong connections*, therefore, the Poet alluded to the *natural* part ; and by the *nice dependencies* to the *moral*. For the *Essay on Man* is not a system of *Naturalism*, but of *natural Religion*. Hence it is, that, where he supposes disorders may tend to some

Is the great chain, that draws all to agree,
And drawn supports, upheld by God, or thee?

II. Presumptuous Man! the reason wouldst thou find,
Why form'd so weak, so little, and so blind? 36

First, if thou canst, the harder reason guess,
Why form'd no weaker, blinder, and no less?
Ask of thy mother earth, why oaks are made
Taller or stronger than the weeds they shade? 40
Or ask of yonder argent fields above,
Why Jove's Satellites are less than Jove?

Of Systems possible, if 'tis confess'd
That Wisdom infinite must form the best,
Where all must full or not coherent be, 45
And all that rises, rise in due degree;
Then, in the scale of reas'ning life, 'tis plain,
There must be, somewhere, such a rank as Man:
And all the question (wrangle e'er so long)
Is only this, if God has plac'd him wrong? 50

NOTES.

greater good in the <i>natural</i> world, he supposes they may tend likewise to some greater	good in the <i>moral</i> , as appears from these sublime images in the following lines,
--	---

*If plagues or earthquakes break not Heav'n's design,
Why then a Borgia, or a Catiline?
Who knows, but he, whose hand the light'ning forms,
Who heaves old Ocean, and who wings the storms;
Pours fierce Ambition in a Cæsar's mind,
Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind?*

EP. I. ESSAY ON MAN.

7

Respecting Man, whatever wrong we call,
 May, must be right, as relative to all.
 In human works, tho' labour'd on with pain,
 A thousand movements scarce one purpose gain;
 In God's, one single can it's end produce; 55
 Yet serves to second too some other use.
 So Man, who here seems principal alone,
 Perhaps acts second to some sphere unknown,
 Touches some wheel, or verges to some goal;
 'Tis but a part we see, and not a whole. 60

When the proud steed shall know why Man restrains
 His fiery course, or drives him o'er the plains;
 When the dull Ox, why now he breaks the clod,
 Is now a victim, and now Ægypt's God:
 Then shall Man's pride and dulness comprehend 65
 His actions', passions', being's, use and end;
 Why doing, suff'ring, check'd, impell'd; and why
 This hour a slave, the next a deity.

VARIATIONS.

In the former Editions y 64.

Now wears a garland an Ægyptian God.

After y 68. the following lines in first Ed.

If to be perfect in a certain sphere,
 What matters soon or late, or here or there?
 The blest to-day is as completely so
 As who began ten thousand years ago.

Then say not Man's imperfect, Heav'n in fault;
 Say rather, Man's as perfect as he ought: 70
 His knowledge measur'd to his state and place;
 His time a moment, and a point his space.
 If to be perfect in a certain sphere,
 What matter, soon or late, or here or there?
 The blest to-day is as completely so, 75
 As who began a thousand years ago.

III. Heav'n from all creatures hides the book of Fate,
 All but the page prescrib'd, their present state:
 From brutes what men, from men what spirits know:
 Or who could suffer Being here below? 80
 The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to-day,
 Had he thy Reason, would he skip and play?
 Pleas'd to the last, he crops the flow'ry food,
 And licks the hand just rais'd to shed his blood.
 Oh blindness to the future! kindly given, 85
 That each may fill the circle mark'd by Heav'n:
 Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
 A hero perish, or a sparrow fall,

VARIATIONS.

After ψ 88. in the MS.

No great, no little; 'tis as much decreed
 That Virgil's Gnat should die as Cæsar bleed,

NOTES.

VER. 87. *Who sees with equal eye, &c.* Mat. x. 29.

EP. I. ESSAY ON MAN.

9

Atoms or systems into ruin hurl'd,
And now a bubble burst, and now a world. 90

Hope humbly then; with trembling pinions soar;
Wait the great teacher Death; and God adore.

What future bliss, he gives not thee to know,
But gives that Hope to be thy blessing now.

Hope springs eternal in the human breast: 95

Man never Is, but always To be blest:

The soul, uneasy and confin'd from home,

Rests and expatiates in a life to come.

Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind; 100

His soul, proud Science never taught to stray

Far as the solar walk, or milky way;

Yet simple Nature to his hope has giv'n,

Behind the cloud-topt hill, an humbler heav'n;

VARIATIONS.

In the first Fol. and Quarto, y 93.

What bliss *above* he gives not thee to know,

But gives that Hope to be thy bliss *below*.

NOTES.

VER. 97. — <i>from home,</i>] By these words, it was the poet's purpose to teach, that the present life is only a state	of probation for another, more suitable to the essence of the soul, and to the free exercise of it's qualities.
--	--

Some safer world in depth of woods embrac'd, 105
 Some happier island in the wat'ry waste,
 Where slaves once more their native land behold,
 No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.
 To Be, contents his natural desire,
 He asks no Angel's wing, no Seraph's fire; 110
 But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
 His faithful dog shall bear him company.

IV. Go, wiser thou! and, in thy scale of sense,
 Weigh thy Opinion against Providence;
 Call imperfection what thou fancy'st such, 115
 Say, here he gives too little, there too much:
 Destroy all creatures for thy sport or gust,
 Yet cry, If Man's unhappy, God's unjust;
 If Man alone ingross not Heav'n's high care,
 Alone made perfect here, immortal there: 120
 Snatch from his hand the balance and the rod,
 Re-judge his justice, be the God of God.

VARIATIONS.

After y 108. in the first Ed.

But does he say the maker is not good,
 Till he's exalted to what state he wou'd:
 Himself alone high Heav'n's peculiar care,
 Alone made happy when he will, and where?

In Pride, in reas'ning Pride, our error lies;
 All quit their sphere, and rush into the skies.
 Pride still is aiming at the blest abodes, 125
 Men would be Angels, Angels would be Gods.
 Aspiring to be Gods, if Angels fell,
 Aspiring to be Angels, Men rebel:
 And who but wishes to invert the laws
 Of ORDER, sins against th' Eternal Cause. 130

V. Ask for what end the heav'nly bodies shine,
 Earth for whose use? Pride answers, "'Tis for mine:
 "For me kind Nature wakes her genial pow'r,
 "Suckles each herb, and spreads out ev'ry flow'r;

NOTES.

VER. 123. *In Pride, &c.*] Arnobius has passed the same censure on these very follies, which he supposes to arise from the cause here assigned.—*Nihil est quod nos fallat, nihil quod nobis pollicetur spes cassas (id quod nobis a quibusdam dicitur viris immoderata sui opinione sublati) animas immortales esse, Deo, rerum ac principi, gradu proximas dignitatis, genitore illo ac patre prolatas, divinas, sapientes, doctas, neque ulla corporis attrita-*

tione contiguas. Adversus gentes.

VER. 131. *Ask for what end, &c.*] If there be any fault in these lines, it is not in the general sentiment, but a want of exactness in expressing it.—It is the highest absurdity to think that *Earth* is man's foot-stool, his canopy the *Skies*, and the *heavenly bodies* lighted up principally for his use; yet not so, to suppose fruits and minerals given for this end.

" Annual for me, the grape, the rose, renew, 135

" The juice nectareous, and the balmy dew ;

" For me, the mine a thousand treasures brings ;

" For me, health gushes from a thousand springs ;

" Seas roll to waft me, suns to light me rise ;

" My foot-stool earth, my canopy the skies." 140

But errs not Nature from this gracious end,
From burning suns when livid deaths descend,
When earthquakes swallow, or when tempests sweep
Towns to one grave, whole nations to the deep?

" No ('tis reply'd) the first Almighty Cause 145

" Acts not by partial, but by gen'ral laws ;

" Th' exceptions few ; some change since all began :

" And what created perfect ?"—Why then Man?

If the great end be human Happiness,

Then Nature deviates ; and can Man do less? 150

NOTES.

VER. 150. *Then Nature deviates, &c.*] " While
" comets move in very ec-
" centric orbs, in all man-
" ner of positions, blind
" Fate could never make all
" the planets move one and
" the same way in orbs con-
" centric ; some inconsider-
" able irregularities except-

" ed, which may have risen
" from the mutual actions
" of comets and planets up-
" on one another, and which
" will be apt to increase,
" 'till this system wants a
" reformation." *Sir Isaac*
" *Newton's Optics, Quest.*
ult.

EP. I. ESSAY ON MAN.

13

As much that end a constant course requires
 Of show'rs and sun-shine, as of Man's desires ;
 As much eternal springs and cloudless skies,
 As Men for ever temp'rate, calm, and wise. 154
 If plagues or earthquakes break not Heav'n's design,
 Why then a Borgia, or a Catiline?
 Who knows but he, whose hand the light'ning forms,
 Who heaves old Ocean, and who wings the storms ;
 Pours fierce Ambition in a Cæsar's mind, 159
 Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind ?
 From pride, from pride, our very reas'ning springs ;
 Account for moral, as for nat'ral things :
 Why charge we Heav'n in those, in these acquit ?
 In both, to reason right is to submit.

Better for Us, perhaps, it might appear, 165
 Were there all harmony, all virtue here ;
 That never air or ocean felt the wind ;
 That never passion discompos'd the mind.
 But ALL subsists by elemental strife ;
 And Passions are the elements of Life. 170
 The gen'ral ORDER, since the whole began,
 Is kept in Nature, and is kept in Man.

NOTES.

VER. 169. *But ALL sub-* | extended in Ep. ii. from
sists, &c.] See this subject | § 90 to 112, 155, &c. P.

VI. What would this Man? Now upward will he soar,
 And little less than Angel, would be more; 174
 Now looking downwards, just as griev'd appears
 To want the strength of bulls, the fur of bears.
 Made for his use all creatures if he call,
 Say what their use, had he the pow'rs of all?
 Nature to these, without profusion, kind,
 The proper organs, proper pow'rs assign'd; 180
 Each seeming want compensated of course,
 Here with degrees of swiftness, there of force;
 All in exact proportion to the state;
 Nothing to add, and nothing to abate.
 Each beast, each insect, happy in it's own: 185
 Is Heav'n unkind to Man, and Man alone?
 Shall he alone, whom rational we call,
 Be pleas'd with nothing, if not blest'd with all?
 The bliss of Man (could Pride that blessing find)
 Is not to act or think beyond mankind; 190

NOTES.

VER. 174. *And little less than Angel, &c.*] *Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels, and hast crown'd him with glory and honour.* Psalm viii. 9.

VER. 182. *Here with degrees of swiftness, &c.*] It is a certain axiom in the anatomy of creatures, that in proportion as they are formed for strength, their swiftness is lessened; or as they are formed for swiftness, their strength is abated. P.

No pow'rs of body or of soul to share,
But what his nature and his state can bear.

Why has not Man a microscopic eye?

For this plain reason, Man is not a Fly.

Say what the use, were finer optics giv'n, 195

T' inspect a mite, not comprehend the heav'n?

Or touch, if tremblingly alive all o'er,

To smart and agonize at ev'ry pore?

Or quick effluvia darting thro' the brain,

Die of a rose in aromatic pain? 200

If nature thunder'd in his op'ning ears,

And stunn'd him with the music of the spheres,

How would he wish that Heav'n had left him still

The whisp'ring Zephyr, and the purling rill?

Who finds not Providence all good and wise, 205

Alike in what it gives, and what denies?

NOTES.

VER. 202. *Stunn'd him*
with the music of the spheres,]

This instance is poetical and
even sublime, but misplaced.

He is arguing philosophical-
ly in a case that required him
to employ the *real* objects
of sense only: And, what is
worse, he speaks of this as a
real object. — If NATURE
thunder'd, &c. The case is
different where (in *Y* 253)

he speaks of the motion of
the heavenly bodies under
the sublime Imagery of *rul-
ing Angels*: For whether
there be *ruling Angels* or no,
there is *real motion*, which
was all his argument want-
ed; but if there be no *music
of the spheres*, there was no
real sound, which his ar-
gument could not do with-
out.

VII. Far as Creation's ample range extends,
 The scale of sensual, mental pow'rs ascends:
 Mark how it mounts, to Man's imperial race,
 From the green myriads in the peopled grass: 210
 What modes of fight betwixt each wide extreme,
 The mole's dim curtain, and the lynx's beam:
 Of smell, the headlong lions between,
 And hound sagacious on the tainted green:
 Of hearing, from the life that fills the flood, 215
 To that which warbles thro' the vernal wood:
 The spider's touch, how exquisitely fine!
 Feels at each thread, and lives along the line:
 In the nice bee, what sense so subtly true
 From pois'nous herbs extracts the healing dew? 220
 How Instinct varies in the grov'ling swine,
 Compar'd, half-reas'ning elephant, with thine!
 'Twixt that, and Reason, what a nice barrier;
 For ever sep'rate, yet for ever near!

NOTES.

VER. 213. *The headlong lions*] The manner of the Lions hunting their prey in the deserts of Africa is this: At their first going out in the night-time they set up a loud roar, and then listen to the noise made by the beasts in their flight, pursuing them

by the ear, and not by the nostril. It is probable the story of the jackal's hunting for the lion, was occasioned by observation of this defect of scent in that terrible animal. P.

VER. 224. *For ever sep'rate, &c.*] *Near*, by the

EP. I. ESSAY ON MAN.

17

Remembrance and Reflection how ally'd ;

225

What thin partitions Sense from Thought divide :

And Middle natures, how they long to join,

Yet never pass th' insuperable line !

Without this just gradation, could they be

Subjected, these to those, or all to thee ?

230

NOTES.

similitude of the operations ; *separate*, by the immense difference in the nature of the powers.

VER. 226. *What thin partitions, &c.* So *thin*, that the Atheistic philosophers, as Protagoras, held that *thought was only sense* ; and from thence concluded, that *every imagination or opinion of every man was true* : Πᾶσα φαντασία ἐστὶν ἀληθής. But the poet determines more philosophically ; that they are really and essentially different, how *thin* soever the partition is by which they are *divided*. Thus (to illustrate the truth of this observation) when a geometer considers a triangle, in order to demonstrate the equality of it's three angles to two right ones, he has the picture or image of some

sensible triangle in his mind, which is *sense* ; yet notwithstanding, he must needs have the notion or idea of an intellectual triangle likewise, which is *thought* ; for this plain reason, because every image or picture of a triangle must needs be obtusangular, or rectangular, or acutangular ; but that which, in his mind, is the subject of his proposition is the *ratio* of a triangle, undetermined to any of these species. On this account it was that Aristotle said, Νοήματα τινὶ διόσκει, τῷ μὴ φαντάσματα εἶναι, ἢ ὅδ' ἐταῦτα φαντάσματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ ἀνευ φαντασμάτων. *The conceptions of the mind differ somewhat from sensible images ; they are not sensible images, and yet not quite free or disengaged from sensible images.*

The pow'rs of all subdu'd by thee alone,
Is not thy Reason all these pow'rs in one?

VIII. See, thro' this air, this ocean, and this earth,
All matter quick, and bursting into birth.

Above, how high, progressive life may go! 235

Around, how wide! how deep extend below!

Vast chain of Being! which from God began,

Natures æthereal, human, angel, man,

Beast, bird, fish, insect, what no eye can see,

No glass can reach; from Infinite to thee, 240

From thee to Nothing.—On superior pow'rs

Were we to press, inferior might on ours:

Or in the full creation leave a void,

Where, one step broken, the great scale's destroy'd:

From Nature's chain whatever link you strike, 245

Tenth or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike.

And, if each system in gradation roll

Alike essential to th' amazing Whole,

VARIATIONS.

VER. 238. Ed. 1st.

Æthereal essence, spirit, substance, man.

NOTES.

VER. 243. *Or in the full* | *full and void* here meant,
creation leave a void, &c.] relating not to Matter, but

This is only an illustration, | to Life.

alluding to the Peripatetic
plenum and *vacuum*; the

VER. 247. *And, if each*
system in gradation roll] The

EP. I. ESSAY ON MAN.

19

The least confusion but in one, not all
 That system only, but the Whole must fall. 250
 Let Earth unbalanc'd from her orbit fly,
 Planets and Suns run lawless thro' the sky;
 Let ruling Angels from their spheres be hurl'd,
 Being on Being wreck'd, and world on world;
 Heav'n's whole foundations to their centre nod, 255
 And Nature trembles to the throne of God.
 All this dread ORDER break — for whom? for thee?
 Vile worm! — oh Madness! Pride! Impiety!
 IX. What if the foot, ordain'd the dust to tread,
 Or hand, to toil, aspir'd to be the head? 260

NOTES.

verb alludes to the *motion* of the planetary bodies of each system; and to the *figures* described by that motion.

VER. 251. *Let Earth unbalanc'd*] *i. e.* Being no longer kept within it's orbit by the different directions of it's progressive and attractive motions; which, like equal weights in a balance, keep it in an equilibrium.

VER. 253. *Let ruling Angels, &c.*] The poet, throughout this poem, with great art uses an advantage, which his employing a Pla-

tonic principle for the foundation of his Essay had afforded him; and that is the expressing himself (as here) in Platonic notions; which, luckily for his purpose, are highly poetical, at the same time that they add a grace to the uniformity of his reasoning.

VER. 259. *What if the foot, &c.*] This fine illustration in defence of the *System of Nature*, is taken from *St Paul*, who employed it to defend the *System of Grace*.

What if the head, the eye, or ear repin'd
 To serve mere engines to the ruling Mind?
 Just as absurd for any part to claim
 To be another, in this gen'ral frame:
 Just as absurd, to mourn the tasks or pains, 265
 The great directing MIND of ALL ordains.

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
 Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;

NOTES.

VER. 265. *Just as absurd, &c.*] See the Prosecution and application of this in Ep. iv. P.

VER. 266. *The great directing MIND, &c.*] *Veneramur autem & colimus ob dominium. Deus enim sine dominio, providentia, & causis finalibus, nihil aliud est quam FATUM & NATURA.* Newtoni Princip. Schol. gener. sub finem.

VER. 268. *Whose body Nature is, &c.*] A certain examiner remarks, on this line, that "A Spinozist would express himself in 'this Manner.' I believe he would, and so, we know, would St Paul too, when

writing on the same subject, namely the omnipresence of God in his Providence, and in his Substance. *In him we live, and move, and have our being; i. e. we are parts of him, his offspring,* as the Greek poet, a pantheist quoted by the Apostle, observes: And the reason is, because a religious theist, and an impious pantheist, both profess to believe the omnipresence of God. But would Spinoza, as Mr Pope does, call God *the great directing Mind of all*, who hath intentionally created a perfect Universe? Or would a Spinozist have told us,

The workman from the work distinct was known,

That, chang'd thro' all, and yet in all the same;
Great in the earth, as in th' æthereal frame; 270

NOTES.

a line that overturns all Spinozism from it's very foundations.

But this sublime description of the Godhead contains not only the *divinity*

of St Paul; but, if that will not satisfy the men he writes against, the *philosophy* likewise of Sir Isaac Newton.

The poet says,

*All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul,
That, chang'd thro' all, and yet in all the same,
Great in the earth, as in th' æthereal frame,
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glowes in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,
Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent.*

The Philosopher: — *In ipso continentur & moventur universa, sed absque mutua passione. Deus nihil patitur ex corporum motibus; illa nullam sentiunt resistantiam ex omnipræsentia Dei. — Corpore omni & figura corporea*

destituitur. — Omnia regit & omnia cognoscit. — Cum unaquæque Spatii particula sit semper, & unumquodque Durationis indivisibile momentum, ubique, certe rerum omnium Fabricator ac Dominus non erit nunquam, nusquam.

Mr Pope:

*Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,
As full, as perfect, in a hair, as heart;
As full, as perfect, in vile Man that mourns,
As the rapt Seraph that adores and burns:
To him no high, no low, no great, no small;
He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.*

Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glow's in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,

NOTES.

Sir Isaac Newton :—*Annon ex phænomenis constat esse entem incorporeum, viventem, intelligentem, omnipresentem, qui in spatio infinito, tanquam sensorio suo, res ipsas intime cernat, penitusque perspiciat, totasque intra se præsens præsentem complectatur.*

But now admitting, for argument's sake, there was an ambiguity in these expressions, so great, as that a Spinozist might employ them to express his own particular principles ; and such a thing might well be, because the Spinozists, in order to hide the impiety of their principle, are used to express the Omnipresence of God in terms that any religious Theist might employ. In this case, I say, how are we to judge of the poet's meaning ? Surely by the whole tenor of his argument. Now take the words in the sense of the Spinozists, and he is made, in the conclusion of his epistle, to

overthrow all he has been advancing throughout the body of it : For Spinozism is the destruction of an Universe, where every thing tends, by a foreseen contrivance in all it's parts, to the perfection of the whole. But allow him to employ the passage in the sense of St Paul, *That we and all creatures live, and move, and have our being in God ;* and then it will be seen to be the most logical support of all that had preceded. For the poet having, as we say, laboured through his epistle to prove, that every thing in the Universe tends, by a foreseen contrivance, and a present direction of all it's parts, to the perfection of the whole ; it might be objected, that such a disposition of things implying in God a painful, operose, and inconceivable extent of Providence, it could not be supposed that such care extended to *all*, but was confined to the more noble parts of

Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,
 Spreads undivided, operates unspent ;
 Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part, 275
 As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart ;
 As full, as perfect, in vile Man that mourns,
 As the rapt Seraph that adores and burns :
 To him no high, no low, no great, no small ;
 He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all. 280

X. Cease then, nor ORDER Imperfection name:
 Our proper bliss depends on what we blame.
 Know thy own point: This kind, this due degree
 Of blindness, weakness, Heav'n bestows on thee.
 Submit.—In this, or any other sphere, 285
 Secure to be as blest as thou canst bear :
 Safe in the hand of one disposing Pow'r,
 Or in the natal, or the mortal hour.

VARIATIONS.

After *ψ* 282. in the MS.

Reason, to think of God when she pretends,
 Begins a Censor, an Adorer ends.

NOTES.

the creation. This gross conception of the First Cause the poet exposes, by shew- ing that God is equally and intimately present to every particle of Matter, to every	sort of Substance, and in e- very instant of Being. VER. 278. <i>As the rapt</i> <i>Seraph, &c.</i>] Alluding to the name <i>Seraphim</i> , signify- ing <i>burners</i> .
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All Nature is but Art, unknown to thee ;
All Chance, Direction, which thou canst not see ;
All Discord, Harmony not understood ; 291
All partial Evil, universal Good :
And, spite of Pride, in erring Reason's spite,
One truth is clear, **WHATEVER IS, is RIGHT.**



ARGUMENT OF
E P I S T L E II.

*Of the Nature and State of Man with respect to
Himself, as an Individual.*

- I. *THE business of Man not to pry into God, but to study himself. His Middle Nature; his Powers and Frailties, § 1 to 19. The Limits of his Capacity, § 19, &c. II. The two Principles of Man, Self-love and Reason, both necessary, § 53, &c. Self-love the stronger, and why, § 67, &c. Their end the same, § 81, &c. III. The PASSIONS, and their use, § 93 to 130. The predominant Passion, and it's force, § 132 to 160. It's Necessity, in directing Men to different purposes, § 165, &c. It's providential Use, in fixing our Principle, and ascertaining our Virtue, § 177. IV. Virtue and Vice joined in our mixed Nature; the limits near, yet the things separate and evident: What is the Office of Reason, § 202 to 216. V. How odious Vice in itself, and how we deceive ourselves into it, § 217. VI. That, however, the Ends of Providence and general Good are answered in our Passions and Imperfections, § 238, &c. How usefully these are distributed to all Orders of Men, § 241. How useful they are to Society, § 251. And to the Individuals, § 263. In every state, and every age of life, § 273, &c.*

E P I S T L E II.

I. **K** NOW then thyself, presume not God to scan;
 The proper study of Mankind is Man.
 Plac'd on this isthmus of a middle state,
 A Being darkly wise, and rudely great :

VARIATIONS.

VER. 2. Ed. 1st.

The only science of Mankind is Man.

NOTES.

VER. 2. *The proper study, &c.*] The poet having shewn, in the *first* epistle, that the *Ways of God* are too high for our comprehension, rightly draws this conclusion: and methodically makes it the subject of his Introduction to the *second*, which treats of the *Nature of Man*.

VER. 3. *Plac'd on this isthmus, &c.*] As the poet hath given us this description of man for the very contrary purpose to which

Sceptics are wont to employ such kind of paintings, namely not to deter men from the *search*, but to excite them to the *discovery* of truth; he hath, with great judgment, represented Man as doubting and wavering between the *right* and *wrong* object; from which state there are great hopes he may be relieved by a careful and circumspect use of Reason. On the contrary, had he supposed Man so blind as to be



N. Blakey inv. & delin. 1748.

Ravenet Sculp.

Self Love still stronger, as its Objects nigh,
Reason's at distance, and in prospect lie;
That sees immediate Good, by present Sense,
Reason the future, and the Consequence.

Essay on Man. Ep. II.



EP. II. ESSAY ON MAN. 27

With too much knowledge for the Sceptic side, 5
 With too much weakness for the Stoic's pride,
 He hangs between; in doubt to act, or rest;
 In doubt to deem himself a God, or Beast;
 In doubt his Mind or Body to prefer;
 Born but to die, and reas'ning but to err; 10
 Alike in ignorance, his reason such,
 Whether he thinks too little, or too much:
 Chaos of Thought and Passion, all confus'd;
 Still by himself abus'd, or disabus'd;
 Created half to rise, and half to fall; 15
 Great lord of all things, yet a prey to all;

NOTES.

busied in chusing, or doubtful in his choice, between two objects *equally wrong*, the case had appeared desperate, and all *study of Man* had been effectually discouraged.

VER. 10. *Born but to die, &c.*] The author's meaning is, that, as we are *born to die*, and yet enjoy some small portion of life; so, though we *reason to err*, yet we comprehend some few truths. This is the weak state of Reason, in which Error mixes itself with all it's true conclusions

concerning Man's Nature.

VER. 11. *Alike in ignorance, &c.*] *i. e.* The proper sphere of his Reason is so narrow, and the exercise of it so nice, that the too immoderate use of it is attended with the same ignorance that proceeds from the not using it at all. Yet, tho' in both these cases, he is *abused by himself*, he has it still in his own power to *disabuse himself*, in making his Passions subservient to the *means*, and regulating his Reason by the *end of Life*.

Sole judge of Truth, in endless Error hurl'd :

The glory, jest, and riddle of the world !

Go, wond'rous creature ! mount where Science
guides, 19

Go, measure earth, weigh air, and state the tides ;

VARIATIONS.

After y 18. in the MS.

For more perfection than this state can bear

In vain we sigh, Heav'n made us as we are.

As wisely sure a modest Ape might aim

To be like Man, whose faculties and frame

He sees, he feels, as you or I to be

An Angel thing we neither know nor see.

Observe how near he edges on our race ;

What human tricks ! how risible of face !

It must be so—why else have I the sense

Of more than monkey charms and excellence ?

Why else to walk on two so oft essay'd ?

And why this ardent longing for a Maid ?

So Pug might plead, and call his Gods unkind

Till set on end and married to his mind.

Go, reasoning Thing ! assume the Doctor's chair,

As Plato deep, as Seneca severe :

Fix moral fitness, and to God give rule,

Then drop into thyself, &c.——

NOTES.

VER. 20. *Go, measure earth, &c.* | noble and useful project of
the modern Mathematici-

Instruct the planets in what orbs to run,
 Correct old Time, and regulate the Sun;
 Go, soar with Plato to th' empyreal sphere,
 To the first good, first perfect, and first fair;
 Or tread the mazy round his follow'rs trod, 25
 And quitting sense call imitating God;
 As Eastern priests in giddy circles run,
 And turn their heads to imitate the Sun.
 Go, teach Eternal Wisdom how to rule —
 Then drop into thyself, and be a fool! 30

VARIATIONS.

VER. 21. Ed. 4th and 5th.

Show by what rules the wand'ring planets stray,
 Correct old time, and teach the Sun his Way.

NOTES.

ans, to measure a degree at the equator and the polar circle, in order to determine the true figure of the earth; of great importance to Astronomy and Navigation.

VER. 22. *Correct old Time,*] This alludes to Sir Isaac Newton's Grecian

Chronology, which he reformed on those two sublime conceptions, the difference between the reigns of kings, and the generations of men; and the position of the colures of the equinoxes and solstices at the time of the Argonautic expedition.

Superior beings, when of late they saw
 A mortal Man unfold all Nature's law,
 Admir'd such wisdom in an earthly shape,
 And shew'd a NEWTON as we shew an Ape.

Could he, whose rules the rapid Comet bind, 35
 Describe or fix one movement of his Mind?
 Who saw it's fires here rise, and there descend,
 Explain his own beginning, or his end?
 Alas what wonder! Man's superior part
 Uncheck'd may rise, and climb from art to art; 40

VARIATIONS.

VER. 35. Ed. 1st.

Could he, who taught each Planet where to roll,
 Describe or fix one movement of the Soul?
 Who mark'd their points to rise or to descend,
 Explain his own beginning or his end?

NOTES.

VER. 37. *Who saw it's
 fires here rise, &c.*] Sir Isaac
 Newton, in calculating the
 velocity of a Comet's moti-
 on, and the course it de-
 scribes, when it becomes vi-
 sible in it's descent to, and
 ascent from, the Sun, con-
 jectured, with the highest
 appearance of truth, that
 Comets revolve perpetually

round the Sun, in ellipses
 vastly eccentric, and very
 nearly approaching to para-
 bolas. In which he was
 greatly confirmed, in ob-
 serving between two Co-
 mets a coincidence in their
 perihelions, and a perfect
 agreement in their veloci-
 ties.

But when his own great work is but begun,
What Reason weaves, by Passion is undone.

Trace Science then, with Modesty thy guide;
First strip off all her equipage of Pride;

Deduct what is but Vanity, or Dress, 45
Or Learning's Luxury, or Idleness;

NOTES.

VER. 45.—*Vanity, or dress,*] These are the first parts of what the Poet, in the preceding line, calls the Scholar's *equipage of Pride*. By *vanity*, is meant that luxuriancy of thought and expression in which a writer indulges himself, to shew the fruitfulness of his fancy or invention. By *dress*, is to be understood a lower degree of that practice, in amplification of thought and ornamented expression, to give force to what the writer would convey: but even this, the Poet, in a severe search after truth, condemns; and with great judgment. Conciseness of thought and simplicity of expression, being as well the best *instruments*, as the best *vehicles* of Truth. Shake-

spear touches upon this latter advantage with great force and humour. The Flatterer says to *Timon* in distress, "I cannot cover "the monstrous bulk of "their ingratitude, with "any *size of words*." The other replies, "Let it go "naked, men may see't the "better."

VER. 46. *Or Learning's Luxury, or Idleness;*] The *Luxury of Learning* consists in dressing up and disguising old notions in a new way, so as to make them more fashionable and palatable; instead of examining and scrutinizing their truth. As this is often done for pomp and shew, it is called *luxury*; as it is often done too to save pains and labour, it is called *idleness*.

Or tricks to shew the stretch of human brain,
 Mere curious pleasure, or ingenious pain ;
 Expunge the whole, or lop th' excrescent parts
 Of all our Vices have created Arts ; 50
 Then see how little the remaining sum,
 Which serv'd the past, and must the times to come !

II. Two Principles in human nature reign ;
 Self-love, to urge, and Reason, to restrain ;
 Nor this a good, nor that a bad we call, 55
 Each works it's end, to move or govern all :
 And to their proper operation still,
 Ascribe all Good ; to their improper, III.

Self-love, the spring of motion, acts the soul ;
 Reason's comparing balance rules the whole. 60
 Man, but for that, no action could attend,
 And, but for this, were active to no end :

NOTES.

VER. 47. *Or tricks to shew the stretch of human brain,*] Such as the mathematical demonstrations concerning the small quantity of matter ; the endless divisibility of it, &c.

VER. 48. *Mere curious pleasure, or ingenious pain ;*] That is, when *Admiration* sets the mind on the rack.

VER. 49, 50. *Expunge the whole, or lop th' excrescent parts Of all our Vices have created Arts ;*]

i. e. Those parts of natural Philosophy, Logic, Rhetoric, Poetry, &c. that administer to luxury, deceit, ambition, effeminacy, &c.

EP. II. ESSAY ON MAN.

33

Fix'd like a plant on his peculiar spot,
To draw nutrition, propagate, and rot ;
Or, meteor-like, flame lawless thro' the void, 65
Destroying others, by himself destroy'd.

Most strength the moving principle requires ;
Active its task, it prompts, impels, inspires.
Sedate and quiet the comparing lies,
Form'd but to check, delib'rate, and advise. 70
Self-love still stronger, as its objects nigh ;
Reason's at distance, and in prospect lie :
That sees immediate good by present sense ;
Reason, the future and the consequence.
Thicker than arguments, temptations throng, 75
At best more watchful this, but that more strong.
The action of the stronger to suspend
Reason still use, to Reason still attend.
Attention, habit and experience gains ; 79
Each strengthens Reason, and Self-love restrains.

Let subtle schoolmen teach these friends to fight,
More studious to divide than to unite ;
And Grace and Virtue, Sense and Reason split,
With all the rash dexterity of wit.

NOTES.

VER. 74. *Reason, the future and the consequence.*] i. e. | the future ; and by argumentation, the consequence.
By experience Reason collects

Wits, juſt like Fools, at war about a name, 85
 Have full as oft no meaning, or the ſame.
 Self-love and Reaſon to one end aſpire,
 Pain their averſion, Pleaſure their deſire ;
 But greedy That, its object would devour,
 This taſte the honey, and not wound the flow'r : 90
 Pleaſure, or wrong or rightly underſtood,
 Our greateſt evil, or our greateſt good.

III. Modes of Self-love the Paſſions we may call :
 'Tis real good, or ſeeming, moves them all :
 But ſince not ev'ry good we can divide, 95
 And Reaſon bids us for our own provide ;
 Paſſions, tho' ſelfiſh, if their means be fair,
 Liſt under Reaſon, and deſerve her care ;
 Thoſe, that imparted, court a nobler aim,
 Exalt their kind, and take ſome Virtue's name. 100
 In lazy Apathy let Stoics boaſt
 Their Virtue fix'd ; 'tis fix'd as in a froſt ;
 Contracted all, retiring to the breaſt ;
 But ſtrength of mind is Exerciſe, not Reſt ;

VARIATIONS.

After y 86. in the MS.

Of good and evil Gods what frighted Fools,
 Of good and evil Reaſon puzzled Schools,
 Deceiv'd, deceiving, taught——

EP. II. ESSAY ON MAN.

35

The rising tempest puts in act the soul, 105

Parts it may ravage, but preserves the whole.

On life's vast ocean diversely we fail,

Reason the card, but Passion is the gale ;

Nor God alone in the still calm we find, 109

He mounts the storm, and walks upon the wind,

Passions, like Elements, tho' born to fight,

Yet, mix'd and soften'd, in his work unite :

VARIATIONS.

After VER. 108. in the MS.

A tedious Voyage! where how useless lies

The compass, if no pow'rful gusts arise ?

After VER. 112. in the MS.

The soft reward the virtuous, or invite ;

The fierce, the vicious punish or affright.

NOTES.

VER. 109. *Nor God alone,* author is here only shewing
 &c.] These words are only the providential issue of the
 a simple affirmation in the Passions, and how, by God's
 poetic dress of a similitude, gracious disposition, they
 to this purpose: Good is are turned away from their
 not only produced by the natural byas, to promote the
 subdual of the Passions, but happiness of Mankind. As
 by the turbulent exercise of to the method in which
 them. A truth conveyed they are to be treated by
 under the most sublime i- Man, in whom they are
 magery that poetry could found, all that he contends
 conceive or paint. For the for, in favour of them, is

These 'tis enough to temper and employ ;
 But what composes Man, can Man destroy ?
 Suffice that Reason keep to Nature's road, 115
 Subject, compound them, follow her and God.
 Love, Hope, and Joy, fair pleasure's smiling train,
 Hate, Fear, and Grief, the family of pain,
 These mix'd with art, and to due bounds confin'd,
 Make and maintain the balance of the mind : 120
 The lights and shades, whose well accorded strife
 Gives all the strength and colour of our life.

Pleasures are ever in our hands or eyes ;
 And when, in act, they cease, in prospect, rise :
 Present to grasp, and future still to find, 125
 The whole employ of body and of mind.
 All spread their charms, but charm not all alike ;
 On diff'rent senses diff'rent objects strike ;
 Hence diff'rent Passions more or less inflame,
 As strong or weak, the organs of the frame ; 130
 And hence one MASTER PASSION in the breast,
 Like Aaron's serpent, swallows up the rest.

NOTES.

only this, that they should not be quite rooted up and destroyed, as the Stoics, and their followers in all reli-	gions, foolishly attempted. For the rest, he constantly repeats this advice,
--	--

*The action of the stronger to suspend,
 Reason still use, to Reason still attend.*

EP. II. ESSAY ON MAN. 37

As Man, perhaps, the moment of his breath,
 Receives the lurking principle of death ;
 The young disease, that must subdue at length, 135
 Grows with his growth, and strengthens with his
 strength :

So, cast and mingled with his very frame,
 The Mind's disease, its RULING PASSION came ;
 Each vital humour which should feed the whole,
 Soon flows to this, in body and in soul : 140
 Whatever warms the heart, or fills the head,
 As the mind opens, and its functions spread,
 Imagination plies her dang'rous art,
 And pours it all upon the peccant part.

Nature its mother, Habit is its nurse ; 145
 Wit, Spirit, Faculties, but make it worse ;
 Reason itself but gives it edge and pow'r ;
 As Heav'n's blest beam turns vinegar more sour ;

NOTES.

VER. 133. *As Man per-
 baps, &c.] Antipater Sido-
 nius Poëta omnibus annis uno
 die natali tantum corripie-
 batur febre, et eo consumptus
 est satis longa senectâ. Plin.*

l. vii. N. H. This *Anti-
 pater* was in the times of
 Crassus, and is celebrated
 for the quickness of his
 parts by Cicero.

We, wretched subjects tho' to lawful sway,
 In this weak queen, some fav'rite still obey: 150
 Ah! if she lend not arms, as well as rules,
 What can she more than tell us we are fools?
 Teach us to mourn our Nature, not to mend,
 A sharp accuser, but a helpless friend!
 Or from a judge turn pleader, to persuade 155
 The choice we make, or justify it made;
 Proud of an easy conquest all along,
 She but removes weak passions for the strong:
 So, when small humours gather to a gout,
 The doctor fancies he has driv'n them out. 160
 Yes, Nature's road must ever be preferr'd;
 Reason is here no guide, but still a guard:
 'Tis her's to rectify, not overthrow,
 And treat this passion more as friend than foe:

NOTES.

VER. 149. *We, wretched subjects, &c.*] St Paul himself did not chuse to employ other arguments, when disposed to give us the highest idea of the usefulness of Christianity. (*Rom. vii.*) But, it may be, the poet finds a remedy in Natural Religion. Far from it. He here leaves, reason unrelieved. What

is this then, but an intimation that we ought to seek for a cure in that religion, which only dares profess to give it?

VER. 163. *'Tis her's to rectify, &c.*] The meaning of this precept is, That as the ruling Passion is implanted by Nature, it is Reason's office to regulate,

EP. II. ESSAY ON MAN. 39

A mightier Pow'r the strong direction sends, 165
 And sev'ral Men impels to sev'ral ends:
 Like varying winds, by other passions tost,
 This drives them constant to a certain coast.
 Let pow'r or knowledge, gold or glory, please,
 Or (oft more strong than all) the love of ease; 170
 Thro' life 'tis follow'd, ev'n at life's expence;
 The merchant's toil, the sage's indolence,
 The monk's humility, the hero's pride,
 All, all alike, find Reason on their side.

Th' Eternal Art educing good from ill, 175
 Grafts on this Passion our best principle:
 'Tis thus the Mercury of Man is fix'd,
 Strong grows the Virtue with his nature mix'd;
 The dross cements what else were too refin'd,
 And in one interest body acts with mind. 180

NOTES.

direct, and restrain, but not to overthrow it. To regulate the passion of Avarice, for instance, into a parsimonious dispensation of	the public revenues; to direct the passion of Love, whose object is worth and beauty,
--	--

To the first good, first perfect, and first fair,

τὸ καλὸν τ' ἀγαθόν, as his master Plato advises; and to re-	strain Spleen to a contempt and hatred of Vice.
--	--

As fruits, ungrateful to the planter's care,
 On savage stocks inserted, learn to bear ;
 The surest Virtues thus from Passions shoot,
 Wild Nature's vigor working at the root.
 What crops of wit and honesty appear 185
 From spleen, from obstinacy, hate, or fear !
 See anger, zeal and fortitude supply ;
 Ev'n av'rice, prudence ; sloth, philosophy ;
 Lust, thro' some certain strainers well refin'd,
 Is gentle love, and charms all womankind ; 190
 Envy, to which th' ignoble mind's a slave,
 Is emulation in the learn'd or brave ;
 Nor Virtue, male or female, can we name,
 But what will grow on Pride, or grow on Shame,

VARIATIONS.

After v 194. in the MS.

How oft, with Passion, Virtue points her Charms !
 Then shines the Hero, then the Patriot warms.
 Peleus' great Son, or Brutus, who had known,
 Had Lucrece been a Whore, or Helen none ?
 But Virtues opposite to make agree,
 That, Reason ! is thy task ; and worthy Thee.
 Hard task, cries Bibulus, and reason weak.
 —Make it a point, dear Marquess ! or a pique.
 Once, for a whim, persuade yourself to pay
 A debt to reason, like a debt at play.

EP. II. ESSAY ON MAN. 41

Thus Nature gives us (let it check our pride)
 The virtue nearest to our vice ally'd : 196
 Reason the byas turns to good from ill,
 And Nero reigns a Titus, if he will.
 The fiery soul abhorr'd in Catiline,
 In Decius charms, in Curtius is divine : 200
 The same ambition can destroy or save,
 And makes a patriot as it makes a knave.
 This light and darkness in our chaos join'd,
 What shall divide ? The God within the mind.

VARIATIONS.

For right or wrong have mortals suffer'd more ?
 B— for his Prince, or * * for his Whore ?
 Whose self-denials nature most controul ?
 His, who would save a Sixpence or his Soul ?
 Web for his health, a Chartreux for his Sin,
 Contend they not which soonest shall grow thin ?
 What, we resolve, we can ; but here's the fault,
 We ne'er resolve to do the thing we ought.

NOTES.

VER. 203. <i>This light,</i> &c.] A Platonic phrase for Conscience ; and here em- ployed with great judgment and propriety. For Con- science either signifies, spe- culatively, the judgment we	pass of things upon what- ever principles we chance to have ; and then it is only Opinion, a very unable judge and divider. Or else it sig- nifies, practically, the ap- plication of the eternal rule
--	---

Extremes in Nature equal ends produce, 205
 In Man they join to some mysterious use;
 Tho' each by turns the other's bound invade,
 As, in some well-wrought Picture, light and shade,
 And oft so mix, the difference is too nice
 Where ends the Virtue, or begins the Vice. 210
 Fools! who from hence into the notion fall,
 That Vice or Virtue there is none at all.
 If white and black blend, soften, and unite
 A thousand ways, is there no black or white?
 Ask your own heart, and nothing is so plain; 215
 'Tis to mistake them, costs the time and pain.
 Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
 As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;
 Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
 We first endure, then pity, then embrace. 220

VARIATIONS.

After y 220. in the 1st Edition, followed these,

A Cheat! a Whore! who starts not at the name,
 In all the Inns of Court or Drury-lane?

NOTES.

of right (received by us as the law of God) to the re- gulation of our actions; and then it is properly Con- science, <i>the God</i> (or the law	of God) <i>within the mind</i> , of power to divide the light from the darkness in this chaos of the passions.
--	---

EP. II. ESSAY ON MAN.

43

But where th' Extreme of Vice, was ne'er agreed :
 Ask where's the North ? at York, 'tis on the Tweed ;
 In Scotland, at the Orcades ; and there,
 At Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where.
 No creature owns it in the first degree, 225
 But thinks his neighbour farther gone than he ;
 Ev'n those who dwell beneath its very zone,
 Or never feel the rage, or never own ;
 What happier natures shrink at with affright,
 The hard inhabitant contends is right. 230

Virtuous and vicious ev'ry Man must be,
 Few in th' extreme, but all in the degree ;
 The rogue and fool by fits, is fair and wise ;
 And ev'n the best, by fits, what they despise.
 'Tis but by parts we follow good or ill ; 235
 For, Vice or Virtue, Self directs it still ;
 Each individual seeks a sev'ral goal ;
 But HEAV'N's great view is One, and that the
 Whole.

VARIATIONS.

After y 226. in the MS.

The Col'nel swears the Agent is a dog,
 The Scriv'ner vows th' Attorney is a rogue.
 Against the Thief th' Attorney loud inveighs,
 For whose ten pound the County twenty pays.
 The Thief damns Judges, and the Knaves of State ;
 And dying, mourns small Villains hang'd by great.

That counter-works each folly and caprice ;
 That disappoints th' effect of ev'ry vice ; 240
 That, happy frailties to all ranks apply'd ;
 Shame to the virgin, to the matron pride,
 Fear to the statesman, rashness to the chief,
 To kings presumption, and to crowds belief :
 That, Virtue's ends from Vanity can raise, 245
 Which seeks no int'rest, no reward but praise ;
 And build on wants, and on defects of mind,
 The joy, the peace, the glory of Mankind.
 Heav'n forming each on other to depend,
 A master, or a servant, or a friend, 250
 Bids each on other for assistance call,
 'Till one Man's weakness grows the strength of all,
 Wants, frailties, passions, closer still ally
 The common int'rest, or endear the tie.

NOTES.

VER. 253. *Wants, frailties, passions, closer still ally*
The common int'rest, &c.]

As these lines have been misunderstood, I shall give the reader their plain and obvious meaning. To these frailties (says he) we owe all the endearments of private life ; yet, when we come to that age, which general-

ly disposes Men to think more seriously of the true value of things, and consequently of their provision for a future state, the consideration, that the grounds of those joys, loves, and friendships, are wants, frailties, and passions, proves the best expedient to wean us from the world ; a disengage-

To these we owe true friendship, love sincere, 255
Each home-felt joy that life inherits here ;
Yet from the same we learn, in its decline,
Those joys, those loves, those int'rests to resign ;
Taught half by Reason, half by mere decay,
To welcome death, and calmly pass away. 260
Whate'er the Passion, knowledge, fame, or pelf,
Not one will change his neighbour with himself.
The learn'd is happy nature to explore,
The fool is happy that he knows no more ;
The rich is happy in the plenty giv'n, 265
The poor contents him with the care of Heav'n.
See the blind beggar dance, the cripple sing,
The sot a hero, lunatic a king ;
The starving chemist in his golden views
Supremely blest, the poet in his muse. 270
See some strange comfort ev'ry state attend,
And Pride bestow'd on all, a common friend ;

NOTES.

ment so friendly to that provision we are now making for another. The observation is new, and would in any place be extremely beautiful, but has here an infi-

nite grace and propriety, as it so well confirms, by an instance of great moment, the general thesis, *That God makes Ill, at every step, productive of Good.*

See some fit Passion, ev'ry age supply,
 Hope travels thro', nor quits us when we die.

Behold the child, by Nature's kindly law, 275

Pleas'd with a rattle, tickled with a straw :

Some livelier play-thing gives his youth delight,

A little louder, but as empty quite :

Scarfs, garters, gold, amuse his riper stage ;

And beads and pray'r-books are the toys of age :

Pleas'd with this bauble still, as that before ; 281

'Till tir'd he sleeps, and Life's poor play is o'er.

Mean-while Opinion gilds with varying rays

Those painted clouds that beautify our days ;

Each want of happiness by Hope supply'd, 285

And each vacuity of sense by Pride :

NOTES.

VER. 280. *And beads and pray'r-books are the toys of age :*] A Satire on what is called in Popery the *Opus operatum*. As this is a description of the circle of human life returning into itself by a second childhood, the poet has with great elegance concluded his description with the same figure with which he set out.

VER. 286. *And each va-*

cuity of sense by Pride :] An eminent Casuist, Father Francis Garasse, in his *Somme Theologique*, has drawn a very charitable conclusion from this principle. *Selon la Justice (dit cet equitable Theologien) tout travail honnête doit être recompensé de louange ou de satisfaction. Quand les bons esprits font un ouvrage excellent, ils sont*

These build as fast as knowledge can destroy ;
In Folly's cup still laughs the bubble, joy ;
One prospect lost, another still we gain ;
And not a vanity is giv'n in vain ; 290
Ev'n mean Self-love becomes, by force divine,
The scale to measure others wants by thine.
See ! and confess, one comfort still must rise,
'Tis this, Tho' Man's a fool, yet GOD IS WISE.

NOTES.

justement recompensez par les suffrages du Public. Quand un pauvre esprit travaille beaucoup, pour faire un mauvais ouvrage, il n'est pas juste ni raisonnable, qu'il attende des louanges publiques : car elles ne lui sont pas dûes. Mais afin que ses travaux ne demeurent pas sans récompense, Dieu lui donne une satisfaction personnelle, que personne ne lui peut envier sans une injustice plus que barbare ; tout ainsi que Dieu qui est juste donne de la satisfaction aux Grenouilles de leur chant. Autrement le blâme public, joint à leur mécontentement, seroit suffisant pour les réduire au desespoir.



A R G U M E N T O F
E P I S T L E I I I.

*Of the Nature and State of Man with respect to
Society.*

- I. *THE whole Universe one system of Society, § 7, &c. Nothing made wholly for itself, nor yet wholly for another, § 27. The happiness of Animals mutual, § 49. II. Reason or Instinct operate alike to the good of each Individual, § 79. Reason or Instinct operate also to Society, in all animals, § 109. III. How far Society carried by Instinct, § 115. How much farther by Reason, § 128. IV. Of that which is called the State of Nature, 144. Reason instructed by Instinct in the invention of Arts, § 166, and in the Forms of Society, § 176. V. Origin of Political Societies, § 196. Origin of Monarchy, § 207. Patriarchal government, § 212. VI. Origin of true Religion and Government, from the same principle of Love, § 231, &c. Origin of Superstition and Tyranny, from the same principle, of Fear, § 237, &c. The Influence of Self-love operating to the social and public Good, § 266. Restoration of true Religion and Government on their first principle, § 285. Mixt Government, § 288. Various Forms of each, and the true end of all, § 300, &c.*





N. Blakey inv. et del.

Ravenet sculp.

See some fit Passion every Age supply,
Hope travels through, nor quits us when we die.

Gray on Man, Ep. II.

E P I S T L E III.

HERE then we rest: "The Universal Cause
 "Acts to one end, but acts by various laws."
 In all the madness of superfluous health,
 The trim of pride, the impudence of wealth,

VARIATIONS.

VER. 1. in several Edit. in 4to.

Learn, Dulness, learn! "The Universal Cause, &c.

WE are now come to the third epistle of the Essay on Man. It having been shewn, in explaining the origin, use, and end of the Passions, in the second epistle, that Man hath social as well as selfish passions, that doctrine naturally introduceth the third, which treats of Man as a SOCIAL animal; and connects it with the second, which considered him as an INDIVIDUAL. And as the conclusion from the subject of the first epistle made the introduction to the second, so here again, the conclusion of the second

*(Ev'n mean Self-love becomes, by force divine,
 The scale to measure others wants by thine.)*

maketh the introduction to the third.

NOTES.

VER. 3. — *superfluous* | pairers of health: Those,
health,] Immoderate labour | whose station sets them
 and study are the great im- | above both, must needs

Let this great truth be present night and day; 5
But most be present, if we preach or pray.

Look round our World; behold the chain of Love
Combining all below and all above.

See plastic Nature working to this end,
The single atoms each to other tend, 10

Attract, attracted to, the next in place
Form'd and impell'd its neighbour to embrace.

See Matter next, with various life endu'd,
Press to one centre still, the gen'ral Good.

See dying vegetables life sustain, 15
See life dissolving vegetate again :

All forms that perish other forms supply,
(By turns we catch the vital breath, and die)

NOTES.

have an affluence of health, which not being used, but abused and ruined by Luxury, the poet properly calls a *superfluity*.

VER. 4. — *impudence of wealth,*] Because *wealth* pretends to be wisdom, wit, learning, honesty, and, in short, all the virtues in their turns.

VER. 12. *Form'd and impell'd, &c.*] To make Mat-

ter so cohere as to fit it for the uses intended by its Creator, a proper *configuration* of its insensible parts is as necessary as that quality so equally and universally conferred upon it, called *Attraction*. To express the first part of this thought, our Author says, *form'd*; and to express the latter, *impell'd*.

EP. III. ESSAY ON MAN.

51

Like bubbles on the sea of Matter born,
 They rise, they break, and to that sea return. 20
 Nothing is foreign : Parts relate to whole ;
 One all-extending, all-preserving Soul
 Connects each being, greatest with the least ;
 Made Beast in aid of Man, and Man of Beast ;
 All serv'd, all serving : nothing stands alone ; 25
 The chain holds on, and where it ends, unknown.

Has God, thou fool ! work'd solely for thy good,
 Thy joy, thy pastime, thy attire, thy food ?
 Who for thy table feeds the wanton fawn,
 For him as kindly spread the flow'ry lawn : 30
 Is it for thee the lark ascends and sings ?
 Joy tunes his voice, joy elevates his wings.
 Is it for thee the linnet pours his throat ?
 Loves of his own and raptures swell the note.

NOTES.

VER. 22. *One all-extending, all-preserving Soul*] Which, in the language of Sir Isaac Newton, is, *Deus omnipræsens est, non per virtutem solam, sed etiam per substantiam : nam virtus sine substantia subsistere non potest.* Newt. Princ schol. gen. sub fin.

VER. 23. *Greatest with the least ;*] As acting more strongly and immediately in beasts, whose instinct is plainly an external reason ; which made an old schoolman say, with great elegance, *Deus est anima brutorum :*

In this 'tis God directs—

The bounding steed you pompously bestride, 35
 Shares with his lord the pleasure and the pride.
 Is thine alone the seed that strews the plain?
 The birds of heav'n shall vindicate their grain.
 Thine the full harvest of the golden year?
 Parts pays, and justly, the deserving steer: 40
 The hog, that plows not nor obeys thy call,
 Lives on the labours of this lord of all.

Know, Nature's children all divide her care;
 The fur that warms a monarch, warm'd a bear. 44
 While Man exclaims, "See all things for my use!"
 "See man for mine!" replies a pamper'd goose:
 And just as short of reason He must fall,
 Who thinks all made for one, not one for all.

VARIATIONS.

After γ 46. in the former Editions,

What care to tend, to lodge, to cram, to treat him!
 All this he knew; but not that 'twas to eat him.
 As far as Goose could judge, he reason'd right;
 But as to Man, mistook the matter quite.

NOTES.

VER. 45.—*See all things for my use!*] On the contrary, the wise man hath | said, *The Lord hath made all things for HIMSELF.*
 Prov. xvi. 4.

EP. III. ESSAY ON MAN. 53

Grant that the pow'rful still the weak controul;
 Be Man the Wit and Tyrant of the whole: 50
 Nature that Tyrant checks; He only knows,
 And helps another creature's wants and woes.
 Say, will the falcon, stooping from above,
 Smit with her varying plumage, spare the dove?
 Admires the jay the insect's gilded wings? 55
 Or hears the hawk when Philomela sings?
 Man cares for all: to birds he gives his woods,
 To beasts his pastures, and to fish his floods;
 For some his Int'rest prompts him to provide,
 For more his pleasure, yet for more his pride: 60
 All feed on one vain Patron, and enjoy
 Th' extensive blessing of his luxury.
 That very life his learned hunger craves,
 He saves from famine, from the savage saves;
 Nay, feasts the animal he dooms his feast, 65
 And, 'till he ends the being, makes it blest;

NOTES.

VER. 50. <i>Be Man the Wit and Tyrant of the whole:</i>] Alluding to the witty system of that Philosopher, which made Animals mere Machines, in-	sensible of pain or pleasure: and so encouraged Men in the exercise of that <i>Tyranny</i> over their fellow-creatures, consequent on such a principle.
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54 ESSAY ON MAN. EP. III.

Which feels no more the stroke, or feels the pain,
Than favour'd Man by touch ethereal slain.
The creature had his feast of life before;
Thou too must perish, when thy feast is o'er ! 70

To each unthinking being, Heav'n a friend,
Gives not the useless knowledge of its end :
To Man imparts it ; but with such a view
As, while he dreads it, makes him hope it too :
The hour conceal'd, and so remote the fear, 75
Death still draws nearer, never seeming near.
Great standing miracle ! that Heav'n assign'd
Its only thinking thing this turn of mind.

II. Whether with Reason, or with Instinct blest,
Know, all enjoy that pow'r which suits them best ;
To bliss alike by that direction tend, 81
And find the means proportion'd to their end.
Say, where full Instinct is th' unerring guide,
What Pope or Council can they need beside ?

VARIATIONS.

After y 84. in the MS.

While Man, with opening views of various ways
Confounded, by the aid of knowledge strays :
Too weak to chuse, yet chusing still in haste,
One moment gives the pleasure and distaste.

NOTES.

VER. 68. *Than favour'd* | ancients, and many of the
Man, &c. | Several of the | Orientals since, esteemed

EP. III. ESSAY ON MAN.

55

Reason, however able, cool at best,

85

Cares not for service, or but serves when prest,

Stays 'till we call, and then not often near ;

But honest Instinct comes a volunteer,

Sure never to o'er-shoot, but just to hit ;

While still too wide or short is human Wit ; 90

Sure by quick Nature happiness to gain,

Which heavier Reason labours at in vain.

This too serves always, Reason never long ;

One must go right, the other may go wrong.

See then the acting and comparing pow'rs 95.

One in their nature, which are two in ours ;

And Reason rise o'er Instinct as you can,

In this 'tis God directs, in that 'tis Man.

Who taught the nations of the field and wood

To shun their poison, and to chuse their food ? 100

Prescient, the tides or tempests to withstand,

Build on the wave, or arch beneath the sand ?

Who made the spider parallels design,

Sure as De-moivre, without rule or line ?

Who bid the stork, Columbus-like, explore 105

Heav'ns not his own, and worlds unknown before ?

NOTES.

those who were struck by | and the particular favourites
lightning as sacred persons, | of Heaven. P.

Who calls the council, states the certain day,
Who forms the phalanx, and who points the way?

III. God, in the nature of each being, founds
Its proper bliss, and sets its proper bounds: 110
But as he fram'd a Whole, the Whole to bless,
On mutual Wants built mutual Happiness:
So from the first, eternal ORDER ran,
And creature link'd to creature, man to man,
Whate'er of life all-quick'ning æther keeps, 115
Or breathes thro' air, or shoots beneath the deeps,
Or pours profuse on earth, one nature feeds
The vital flame, and swells the genial seeds,
Not Man alone, but all that roam the wood,
Or wing the sky, or roll along the flood, 120
Each loves itself, but not itself alone,
Each sex desires alike, 'till two are one.
Nor ends the pleasure with the fierce embrace;
They love themselves, a third time, in their race.
Thus beast and bird their common charge attend,
The mothers nurse it, and the fires defend; 126
The young dismiss'd to wander earth or air,
There stops the Instinct, and there ends the care;
The link dissolves, each seeks a fresh embrace,
Another love succeeds, another race. 130
A longer care Man's helpless kind demands;
That longer care contracts more lasting bands:

Reflection, Reason, still the ties improve,
 At once extend the int'rest, and the love ;
 With choice we fix, with sympathy we burn : 135
 Each Virtue in each Passion takes its turn ;
 And still new needs, new helps, new habits rise,
 That graft benevolence on charities.
 Still as one brood, and as another rose,
 These nat'ral love maintain'd, habitual those : 140
 The last, scarce ripen'd into perfect Man,
 Saw helpless him from whom their life began :
 Mem'ry and fore-cast just returns engage,
 That pointed back to youth, this on to age ;
 While pleasure, gratitude, and hope, combin'd, 145
 Still spread the int'rest, and preserv'd the kind.

IV. Nor think, in NATURE'S STATE they
 blindly trod ;

The state of Nature was the reign of God :
 Self-love and Social at her birth began,
 Union the bond of all things, and of Man. 150
 Pride then was not ; nor Arts, that Pride to aid ;
 Man walk'd with beast, joint tenant of the shade ;

NOTES.

VER. 152. *Man walk'd with beast, joint tenant of the shade ;*] The poet still takes his imagery from Platonic ideas, for the reason

given above. Plato had said from old tradition, that, during the Golden age, and under the reign of Saturn, the primitive language then

The same his table, and the same his bed ;
 No murder cloath'd him, and no murder fed.
 In the same temple, the resounding wood, 155
 All vocal beings hymn'd their equal God :
 The shrine with gore unstain'd, with gold undrest,
 Unbrib'd, unbloody, stood the blameless priest :
 Heav'n's attribute was Universal Care,
 And Man's prerogative to rule, but spare. 160
 Ah ! how unlike the man of times to come !
 Of half that live the butcher and the tomb ;
 Who, foe to Nature, hears the gen'ral groan,
 Murders their species, and betrays his own.
 But just disease to luxury succeeds, 165
 And ev'ry death it's own avenger breeds ;
 The Fury-passions from that blood began,
 And turn'd on Man a fiercer savage, Man.
 See him from Nature rising slow to Art !
 To copy Instinct then was Reason's part ; 170

NOTES.

in use was common to man and beasts. Moral philosophers took this in the popular sense, and so invented those fables which give speech to the whole brute-creation. The Naturalists understood the tradition to signify, that, in the first	ages, Men used inarticulate sounds like beasts to express their wants and sensations ; and that it was by slow degrees they came to the use of speech. This opinion was afterwards held by Lucretius, Diodorus Sic. and Gregory of Nyss.
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Thus then to Man the voice of Nature spake—

“ Go, from the Creatures thy instructions take :

“ Learn from the birds what food the thickets yield ;

“ Learn from the beasts the physic of the field ;

“ Thy arts of building from the bee receive ; 175

“ Learn of the mole to plow, the worm to weave ;

“ Learn of the little Nautilus to sail,

“ Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale.

“ Here too all forms of social union find,

“ And hence let Reason, late, instruct Mankind :

NOTES.

VER. 173. *Learn from the birds, &c.*] It is a common practice amongst Navigators, when thrown upon a desert coast,—and in want of refreshments, to observe what fruits have been touched by the Birds: and to venture on these without further hesitation.

VER. 174. *Learn from the beasts, &c.*] See Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* l. viii. c. 27. where several instances are given of Animals discovering the medicinal efficacy of herbs, by their own use of them; and pointing out to some operations in the art

of healing, by their own practice.

VER. 177. *Learn of the little Nautilus*] Oppian. *Halieut. lib. i.* describes this fish in the following manner:
 “ They swim on the sur-
 “ face of the sea, on the
 “ back of their shells,
 “ which exactly resemble
 “ the hulk of a ship; they
 “ raise two feet like masts,
 “ and extend a membrane
 “ between, which serves as
 “ a sail; the other two
 “ feet they employ as oars
 “ at the side. They are
 “ usually seen in the Medi-
 “ terranean.” P.

" Here subterranean works and cities see ; 181
 " There towns aerial on the waving tree.
 " Learn each small People's genius, policies,
 " The Ant's republic, and the realm of Bees ;
 " How those in common all their wealth bestow,
 " And Anarchy without confusion know ; 186
 " And these for ever, tho' a Monarch reign,
 " Their sep'rate cells and properties maintain.
 " Mark what unvary'd laws preserve each state,
 " Laws wise as Nature, and as fix'd as Fate. 190
 " In vain thy Reason finer webs shall draw,
 " Entangle Justice in her net of Law,
 " And right, too rigid, harden into wrong ;
 " Still for the strong too weak, the weak too strong.
 " Yet go ! and thus o'er all the creatures fway, 195
 " Thus let the wiser make the rest obey ;
 " And for those Arts mere Instinct could afford,
 " Be crown'd as Monarchs, or as Gods ador'd."

V. Great Nature spoke ; observant Men obey'd ;
 Cities were built, Societies were made : 200

VARIATIONS.

VER. 197. in the first Editions,

Who for those Arts they learn'd of Brutes before,
 As Kings shall crown them, or as Gods adore.

NOTES.

VER. 199. *observant Men* | tiful, as signifying both obe-
obey'd ;] The epithet is beau- | dience to the voice of Na-

Here rose one little state ; another near
 Grew by like means, and join'd, thro' love or fear.
 Did here the trees with ruddier burdens bend,
 And there the streams in purer rills descend ?
 What War could ravish, Commerce could bestow,
 And he return'd a friend, who came a foe. 206
 Converse and Love mankind might strongly draw,
 When Love was Liberty, and Nature Law.

VARIATIONS.

VER. 201. *Here rose one little state, &c.*] In the MS.
 thus,

The Neighbours leagu'd to guard their common spot :
 And Love was Nature's dictate, Murder, not.
 For want alone each animal contends ;
 Tygers with Tygers, that remov'd, are friends.
 Plain Nature's wants the common mother crown'd.
 She pour'd her acorns, herbs, and streams around.
 No Treasure then for rapine to invade,
 What need to fight for sun-shine or for shade ?
 And half the cause of contest was remov'd,
 When beauty could be kind to all who lov'd.

NOTES.

ture, and attention to the
 lessons of the animal crea-
 tion.

VER. 208. *When Love
 was Liberty,*] i. e. When
 men had no need to guard

their native liberty from
 their governors by civil
 passions ; the love which
 each master of a family had
 for those under his care
 being their best security.

Thus States were form'd ; the name of King unknown,

'Till common int'rest plac'd the sway in one. 210

'Twas VIRTUE ONLY (or in arts or arms,
Diffusing blessings, or averting harms)

The same which in a Sire the Sons obey'd,
A Prince the Father of a People made.

VI. 'Till then, by Nature crown'd, each Patriarch fate, 215

King, priest, and parent of his growing state ;

On him, their second Providence, they hung,

Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue.

He from the wond'ring furrow call'd the food,

Taught to command the fire, controul the flood, 220

Draw forth the monsters of th'abyss profound,

Or fetch th'aerial eagle to the ground.

'Till drooping, sick'ning, dying they began

Whom they rever'd as God to mourn as Man :

NOTES.

VER. 211. 'Twas Virtue only, &c.] Our author hath good authority, for his account of the origin of kingship. Aristotle assures us of this truth, that it was Virtue only, or in arts or arms:

καθίσταται βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπικεικῶν καθ' ὑπεροχὴν ἀρετῆς, ἢ πράξεων

τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἢ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν τοιούτου γένους.

VER. 219. He from the wond'ring furrow, &c.] i. e. He subdued the intractability of all the four elements, and made them subservient to the use of Man.

EP. III. ESSAY ON MAN.

63

Then, looking up from fire to fire, explor'd 225
 One great first father, and that first ador'd.
 Or plain tradition that this All begun,
 Convey'd unbroken faith from fire to son;
 The worker from the work distinct was known,
 And simple Reason never sought but one: 230
 E'er Wit oblique had broke that steady light,
 Man, like his Maker, saw that all was right;
 To Virtue, in the paths of Pleasure, trod,
 And own'd a Father when he own'd a God.
 LOVE all the faith, and all th' allegiance then; 235
 For Nature knew no right divine in Men,
 No ill could fear in God; and understood
 A sov'reign being but a sov'reign good.

NOTES.

VER. 225. *Then, looking up, &c.*] The poet here maketh their more serious attention to Religion to have arisen, not from their gratitude amidst abundance, but from their helplessness in distress; by shewing that,

during the former state, they rested in *second* causes, the immediate authors of their blessings, *whom they revered as God*; but that, in the other, they reasoned up to the *First*:

Then, looking up from fire to fire, &c.

This, I am afraid, is but too true a representation of human nature.

oblique, &c.] A beautiful allusion to the effects of the prismatic glass on the rays of light.

VER 231. *E'er Wit*

True faith, true policy, united ran,
 That was but love of God, and this of Man. 240
 Who first taught souls enslav'd, and realms undone,
 Th' enormous faith of many made for one ;
 That proud exception to all Nature's laws,
 T' invert the world, and counter-work its Cause ?
 Force first made Conquest, and that conquest, Law ;
 'Till Superstition taught the tyrant awe, 246
 Then shar'd the Tyranny, then lent it aid,
 And Gods of Conqu'rors, Slaves of Subjects made :
 She 'midst the light'ning's blaze, and thunder's
 sound,
 When rock'd the mountains, and when groan'd the
 ground, 250
 She taught the weak to bend, the proud to pray,
 To Pow'r unseen, and mightier far than they :
 She, from the rending earth and bursting skies,
 Saw Gods descend, and fiends infernal rise :

NOTES.

VER. 242. *Th' enormous faith, &c.*] In this Aristotle placeth the difference between a King and a Tyrant, that the first supposeth himself made for the People ; the other, that the People are made for him : Βάσις

δ' ὁ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ εἶναι φύλαξ, ὅπως οἱ μὲν κεκλημένοι τὰς ὑσίας μηθὲν ἄδικον πάσχωσιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος μὴ ὑβρίζηται μηθὲν ἢ δὲ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΣ πρὸς ἑδὲν ἀποστέπει κοινόν, εἰ μὴ τῆς ἰδίας ὠφελείας χάριν. Pol. lib. v. cap. 10.

EP. III. ESSAY ON MAN. 65

Here fix'd the dreadful, there the blest abodes ; 255
 Fear made her Devils, and weak Hope her Gods ;
 Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust,
 Whose attributes were Rage, Revenge, or Lust ;
 Such as the souls of cowards might conceive,
 And, form'd like tyrants, tyrants would believe. 260
 Zeal then, not charity, became the guide ;
 And hell was built on spite, and heav'n on pride.
 Then sacred seem'd th'etherial vault no more ;
 Altars grew marble then, and reek'd with gore :
 Then first the Flamen tasted living food ; 265
 Next his grim idol smear'd with human blood ;
 With Heav'n's own thunders shook the world below,
 And play'd the God an engine on his foe.

So drives Self-love, thro' just and thro' unjust,
 To one Man's pow'r, ambition, lucre, lust : 270
 The same Self-love, in all, becomes the cause
 Of what restrains him, Government and Laws.
 For, what one likes if others like as well,
 What serves one will, when many wills rebel ?

NOTES.

VER. 262.—*and heav'n on pride.*] This might be very well said of those times, when no one was content

to go to heaven without being received there on the footing of a God.

How shall he keep, what, sleeping or awake, 275

A weaker may surprize, a stronger take ?

His safety must his liberty restrain :

All join to guard what each desires to gain.

Forc'd into virtue thus by Self-defence,

Ev'n Kings learn'd justice and benevolence : 280

Self-love forsook the path it first pursu'd,

And found the private in the public good.

'Twas then, the studious head or gen'rous mind,

Follow'r of God or friend of human-kind,

Poet or Patriot, rose but to restore 285

The Faith and Moral, Nature gave before ;

Re-lum'd her ancient light, not kindled new ;

If not God's image, yet his shadow drew :

Taught Pow'r's due use to People and to Kings,

Taught nor to slack, nor strain its tender strings,

The less, or greater, set so justly true, 291

That touching one must strike the other too ;

'Till jarring int'rests, of themselves create

Th'according music of a well-mix'd State.

NOTES.

VER. 283. <i>'Twas then,</i> [&c.] The poet seemeth here to mean the po- lite and flourishing age of Greece ; and those bene- factors to Mankind, which	he had principally in view, were Socrates and Aristotle ; who, of all the pagan world, spoke best of God, and wrote best of Government.
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EP. III. ESSAY ON MAN. 67

Such is the World's great harmony, that springs
From Order, Union, full Consent of things : 296
Where small and great, where weak and mighty,
made

To serve, not suffer, strengthen, not invade ;
More pow'rful each as needful to the rest,
And, in proportion as it blesses, blest ; 300
Draw to one point, and to one centre bring
Beast, Man, or Angel, Servant, Lord, or King.

For Forms of Government let fools contest ;
Whate'er is best administer'd is best :
For Modes of Faith let graceless zealots fight ; 305
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right :

NOTES.

VER. 303. *For forms of Government, &c.*] The author of these lines was far from meaning that no one form of government is, in itself, better than another ; (as, that mixed or limited Monarchy, for example, is not preferable to absolute) but that no form of Government, however excellent or preferable, in itself, can be sufficient to make a people happy, unless it be administered with integrity. On the contrary, the best

sort of Government, when the *form* of it is preserved, and the *administration* corrupt, is most dangerous. P.

VER. 305. *For Modes of Faith let graceless zealots fight ;*] These latter Ages have seen so many scandalous contentions for *modes of Faith*, to the violation of Christian Charity, and dishonour of sacred Scripture, that it is not at all strange they should become the object of so benevolent and wise an Author's resentment.

In Faith and Hope the world will disagree,
But all Mankind's concern is Charity :

NOTES.

But that which he here seemed to have more particularly in his eye was the long and mischievous squabble between W——d and JACKSON, on a point confessedly above Reason, and amongst those adorable mysteries which it is the honour of our Religion to find unfathomable. In this, by the weight of answers and replies, redoubled upon one another without mercy, they made so profound a progress, that the *One* proved, nothing hindered, in Nature, but that *the Son might have been the Father*; and the *Other*, that nothing hindered, in Grace, but that *the Son may be a mere Creature*. In a word, they made all things disputable but their own dullness; and this they left unquestioned; and it was the only thing they did leave, of which their readers could be certain. But if, instead of throwing so many Greek Fathers at one another's

heads, they had but chanced to reflect on the sense of one Greek word, ΑΠΕΙΡΙΑ, that it signifies both INFINITY and IGNORANCE, this single *equivocation* might have saved them ten thousand, which they expended in carrying on the controversy. However those *Mists that magnified the Scene*, enlarged the Character of the Combatants: and no body expecting *common sense* on a subject where we have no ideas, the defects of dullness disappeared, and its advantages (for, advantages it has) were all provided for.

The worst is, such kind of Writers seldom know when to have done. For writing themselves up into the same delusion with their Readers, they are apt to venture out into the more open paths of Literature, where their reputation, made out of that stuff, which Lucian calls *Σκότος ὀλέχρου*, presently falls from

All must be false that thwart this One great End;
And all of God, that bless Mankind or mend. 310

NOTES.

them, and their nakedness appears. And thus it fared with our two Worthies. The World, which must have always something to amuse it, was now in good time grown weary of its play-things, and caught at a new object that promised them more agreeable entertainment. Tindal, a kind of Bastard Socrates, had brought our speculations from *Heaven to Earth*: and, under the pretence of advancing the Antiquity of Christianity, laboured to undermine its original. This was a controversy that required another management. Clear sense, severe reasoning, a thorough knowledge of prophane and sacred Antiquity, and an intimate acquaintance with human Nature, were the qualities to determine upon this Question. A very unpromising adventure for these metaphysical nurslings, bred up under the shade of

chimeras. Yet they would needs venture out. What they got by it was only to be once well laughed at, and then forgotten. But one odd circumstance deserves to be remembered; tho' they wrote not, you may be sure, in concert, yet each attacked his Adversary at the same time, fastened upon him in the same place, and mumbled him just in the same manner. But the ill success of this escape soon brought them to themselves. The One made a fruitless effort to revive the old game, in a discourse on *The importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity*; and the Other has been ever since, till very lately, rambling in SPACE.

This short history, as insignificant as the subjects of it are, may not be altogether useless to posterity. Divines may learn by these examples to avoid the mischiefs done to Religion and

Man, like the gen'rous vine, supported lives ;
 The strength he gains is from th' embrace he gives.
 On their own Axis as the Planets run,
 Yet make at once their circle round the Sun ;
 So two consistent motions act the Soul ; 315
 And one regards Itself, and one the Whole.

Thus God and Nature link'd the gen'ral frame,
 And bade Self-love and Social be the same.

NOTES.

Literature thro' the affecta- tion of being wise above what is written, and know-	ing beyond what can be understood.
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ARGUMENT OF
EPISTLE IV.

*Of the Nature and State of Man with respect to
Happiness.*

I. *FALSE* Notions of Happiness, Philosophical and Popular, answered from § 19 to 77. II. It is the End of all Men, and attainable by all, § 30. God intends Happiness to be equal; and to be so, it must be social, since all particular Happiness depends on general, and since he governs by general, not particular Laws, § 37. As it is necessary for Order, and the peace and welfare of Society, that external goods should be unequal, Happiness is not made to consist in these, § 51. But, notwithstanding that inequality, the balance of Happiness among Mankind is kept even by Providence, by the two Passions of Hope and Fear, § 70. III. What the Happiness of Individuals is, as far as is consistent with the constitution of this world; and that the good Man has here the advantage, § 77. The error of imputing to Virtue what are only the calamities of Nature, or of Fortune, § 94. IV. The folly of expecting that God should alter his general Laws in favour of particulars, § 121. V. That we are not judges who are good; but that, whoever they are, they must be happiest, § 133, &c. VI. That external goods are not the proper rewards, but

often inconsistent with, or destructive of Virtue, § 165. That even these can make no Man happy without Virtue: Instanced in Riches, § 183. Honours, § 191. Nobility, § 203. Greatness, § 215. Fame, § 235. Superior Talents, § 257, &c. With pictures of human Infelicity in Men possessed of them all, § 267, &c. VII. That Virtue only constitutes a Happiness, whose object is universal, and whose prospect eternal, § 307, &c. That the perfection of Virtue and Happiness consists in a conformity to the ORDER of PROVIDENCE here, and a Resignation to it here and hereafter, § 326, &c.



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N. Blakely inv. et del.

Ravenet sculp.

Know then this Truth (enough for Man to know)
Virtue alone is Happyness below.

Essay on Man, Ep. IV.

E P I S T L E IV.

O H HAPPINESS ! our being's end and aim !
 Good, Pleasure, Ease, Content ! whate'er thy
 name :

That something still which prompts th' eternal sigh,
 For which we bear to live, or dare to die,
 Which still so near us, yet beyond us lies, 5
 O'er-look'd, seen double, by the fool, and wise.

VARIATIONS.

VER. 1. *Oh Happiness ! &c.*] in the MS. thus,

Oh Happiness ! to which we all aspire,
 Wing'd with strong hope, and borne by full desire ;
 That ease, for which in want, in wealth we sigh ;
 That ease, for which we labour and we die.

EP. IV.] THE two foregoing epistles having considered Man with regard to the *Means* (that is, in all his relations, whether as an Individual, or a Member of Society) this last comes to consider him with regard to the *End*, that is, Happiness.

NOTES.

VER. 6. *O'erlook'd, seen* | thing exclusive of Virtue ;
double,] *O'erlook'd* by those | *seen double* by those who ad-
 who place Happiness in any | mit any thing else to have

Plant of celestial seed ! if dropt below,
 Say, in what mortal soil thou deign'st to grow ?
 Fair op'ning to some Court's propitious shine,
 Or deep with di'monds in the flaming mine ? 10
 Twin'd with the wreaths Parnassian lawrels yield,
 Or reap'd in iron harvests of the field ?
 Where grows ?—where grows it not ? If vain our toil,
 We ought to blame the culture, not the soil :
 Fix'd to no spot is Happiness sincere, 15
 'Tis no where to be found, or ev'ry where ;
 'Tis never to be bought, but always free,
 And fled from monarchs, ST JOHN ! dwells with thee.
 Ask of the Learn'd the way ? The Learn'd are
 blind ;
 This bids to serve, and that to shun mankind ; 20
 Some place the blifs in action, some in ease,
 Those call it Pleasure, and Contentment these ;

NOTES.

a share with Virtue in procuring Happiness ; these being the two general mistakes that this epistle is employed in confuting.

VER. 21. *Some place the blifs in action,—Some sunk to Beasts, &c.* 1. Those who place Happiness, or the *summum bonum*, in Plea-

sure, ἡδονή, such as the Cyrenaic sect, called on that account the Hedonic. 2. Those who place it in a certain tranquillity or calmness of Mind, which they call εὐθυμία, such as the Democritic sect. 3. The Epicurean. 4. The Stoic. 5. The Protagorean, which held

Some sunk to Beasts, find pleasure end in pain ;
 Some swell'd to Gods, confess ev'n Virtue vain ;
 Or indolent, to each extreme they fall, 25
 To trust in ev'ry thing, or doubt of all.

Who thus define it, say they more or less
 Than this, that Happiness is Happiness ?

Take Nature's path, and mad Opinion's leave ;
 All states can reach it, and all heads conceive ; 30
 Obvious her goods, in no extreme they dwell ;
 There needs but thinking right, and meaning well ;
 And mourn our various portions as we please,
 Equal is Common Sense, and Common Ease.

NOTES.

that Man was πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον, *the measure of all things* ; for that all things which appear to him *are*, and those things which appear not to any Man *are not* ; so that every imagination or opinion of every man was true. 6. The Sceptic : Whose absolute Doubt is with great judgment said to be the effect of Indolence, as well as the absolute Trust of the Protagorean : For the same dread of labour attending the search of truth, which makes this latter presume

it to be always at hand, makes the former conclude it is never to be found. The only difference is, that the laziness of the one is desponding, and the laziness of the other sanguine ; yet both can give it a good name, and call it Happiness.

VER. 23. *Some sunk to Beasts, &c.*] These four lines added in the last Edition, as necessary to complete the summary of the false pursuits after happiness amongst the Greek philosophers.

Remember, Man, "the Universal Cause" 35
 "Acts not by partial, but by gen'ral laws ;"
 And makes what Happiness we justly call
 Subsist not in the good of one, but all.
 There's not a blessing Individuals find,
 But some way leans and hearkens to the kind : 40
 No Bandit fierce, no Tyrant mad with pride,
 No cavern'd Hermit, rests self-satisfy'd :
 Who most to shun or hate Mankind pretend,
 Seek an admirer, or would fix a friend :
 Abstract what others feel, what others think, 45
 All pleasures sicken, and all glories sink :
 Each has his share ; and who would more obtain,
 Shall find, the pleasure pays not half the pain.

ORDER is Heav'n's first law ; and this confess,
 Some are, and must be, greater than the rest, 50
 More rich, more wise ; but who infers from hence
 That such are happier, shocks all common sense.

VARIATIONS.

After VER. 52. in the MS.

Say not, "Heav'n's here profuse, there poorly saves,
 "And for one Monarch makes a thousand slaves."
 You'll find, when Causes and their Ends are known,
 'Twas for the thousand Heav'n has made that one.

NOTES.

VER. 49. *Order is* | The first law made by God
Heav'n's first law ;] *i. e.* | relates to Order ; which is

EP. IV. ESSAY ON MAN.

77

Heav'n to Mankind impartial we confess,
 If all are equal in their Happiness:
 But mutual wants this Happiness increase ; 55
 All Nature's diff'rence keeps all Nature's peace.
 Condition, circumstance is not the thing ;
 Bliss is the same in subject or in king,
 In who obtain defence, or who defend,
 In him who is, or him who finds a friend : 60
 Heav'n breathes thro' ev'ry member of the whole
 One common blessing, as one common soul.
 But Fortune's gifts if each alike possess,
 And each were equal, must not all contest ?
 If then to all Men Happiness was meant, 65
 God in Externals could not place Content.
 Fortune her gifts may variously dispose,
 And these be happy call'd, unhappy those ;

VARIATIONS.

After VER. 66. in the MS.

'Tis peace of mind alone is at a stay ;
 The rest mad Fortune gives or takes away.
 All other bliss by accident's debar'd ;
 But Virtue's, in the instant, a reward ;
 In hardest trials operates the best,
 And more is relish'd as the more distressed.

NOTES.

a beautiful allusion to the Scripture history of the Crea- tion, when God first ap-	peased the disorders of Chaos, and separated the light from the darkness.
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But Heav'n's just balance equal will appear,
 While those are plac'd in Hope, and these in Fear :
 Not present good or ill, the joy or curse, 71
 But future views of better, or of worse.
 Oh sons of earth ! attempt ye still to rise,
 By mountains pil'd on mountains, to the skies ?
 Heav'n still with laughter the vain toil surveys, 75
 And buries madmen in the heaps they raise.

Know, all the good that individuals find,
 Or God and Nature meant to mere Mankind,
 Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of Sense,
 Lie in three words, Health, Peace, and Competence.
 But Health consists with Temperance alone ; 81
 And Peace, oh Virtue ! Peace is all thy own.
 The good or bad the gifts of Fortune gain ;
 But these less taste them, as they worse obtain.

NOTES.

VER. 79. *Reason's whole pleasure, &c.*] This is a beautiful paraphrasis for Happiness; for all we feel of good is by *sensation* and *reflection*.

VER. 82. *And Peace, &c.*] *Conscious Innocence* (says the poet) is the only source of *internal Peace*; and *known Innocence*, of *external*; therefore, *Peace* is the sole

issue of Virtue; or, in his own emphatic words, *Peace is all thy own*; a conclusive observation in his argument, which stands thus: Is Happiness rightly placed in Externals? No; for it consists in Health, Peace, and Competence. Health and Competence are the product of Temperance, and Peace of perfect Innocence.

EP. IV. ESSAY ON MAN. 79

Say, in pursuit of profit or delight, 85
 Who risk the most, that take wrong means, or right?
 Of Vice or Virtue, whether blest or curst,
 Which meets contempt, or which compassion first?
 Count all th'advantage prosp'rous Vice attains,
 'Tis but what Virtue flies from and disdains: 90
 And grant the bad what happiness they wou'd,
 One they must want, which is, to pass for good.

Oh blind to truth, and God's whole scheme below,
 Who fancy Bliss to Vice, to Virtue Woe!
 Who sees and follows that great scheme the best, 95
 Best knows the blessing, and will most be blest.
 But fools, the Good alone, unhappy call,
 For ills or accidents that chance to all.
 See FALKLAND dies, the virtuous and the just!
 See god-like TURENNE prostrate on the dust! 100

VARIATIONS.

After VER. 92. in the MS.

Let sober Moralists correct their speech,
 No bad man's happy: he is great or rich.

NOTES.

VER. 100. See god-like <i>Turenne</i>] This epithet has a peculiar justness; the great man to whom it is ap- plied not being distinguish- ed, from other generals,	for any of his superior qua- lities so much as for his pro- vidential care of those whom he led to war; which was so extraordinary, that his chief purpose in taking on him-
--	--

See SIDNEY bleeds amid the martial strife !

Was this their Virtue, or Contempt of Life ?

Say, was it Virtue, more tho' Heav'n ne'er gave,
Lamented DIGBY ! sunk thee to the grave ?

Tell me, if Virtue made the Son expire, 105

Why, full of days and honour, lives the Sire ?

Why drew Marseille's good bishop purer breath,
When Nature sicken'd, and each gale was death !

Or why so long (in life if long can be)

Lent Heav'n a parent to the poor and me ? 110

What makes all physical or moral ill ?

There deviates Nature, and here wanders Will.

God sends not ill ; if rightly understood,

Or partial Ill is universal Good,

Or Change admits, or Nature lets it fall ; 115

Short, and but rare, till Man improv'd it all.

VARIATIONS.

After γ 116. in the MS.

Of ev'ry evil, since the world began,

The real source is not in God, but man.

NOTES.

self the command of armies,
seems to have been the Pre-
servation of Mankind. In
this *god-like* care he was more
distinguishably employed
throughout the whole course

of that famous campaign in
which he lost his life.

VER. 110. *Lent Heav'n
a parent, &c.*] This last
instance of the poet's illu-
stration of the ways of Pro-

We just as wisely might of Heav'n complain
 That righteous Abel was destroy'd by Cain,
 As that the virtuous son is ill at ease
 When his lewd father gave the dire disease. 120
 Think we, like some weak Prince, th'Eternal Cause,
 Prone for his fav'rites to reverse his laws?
 Shall burning Ætna, if a sage requires,
 Forget to thunder, and recall her fires?
 On air or sea new motions be imprest, 125
 Oh blameless Bethel! to relieve thy breast?
 When the loose mountain trembles from on high,
 Shall gravitation cease, if you go by?

NOTES.

vidence, the reader sees, has a peculiar elegance; where a tribute of piety to a parent is paid in a return of thanks to, and made subservient of, his vindication of, the Great Giver and Father of all things. The Mother of the author, a person of great piety and charity, died the year this poem was finished, viz. 1733.

VER. 121. *Think we, like some weak Prince, &c.* Agreeably hereunto, holy Scripture, in its account of things under the common

Providence of Heaven, never represents miracles as wrought for the sake of him who is the object of them, but in order to give credit to some of God's extraordinary dispensations to Mankind.

VER. 123. *Shall burning Ætna, &c.* Alluding to the fate of those two great Naturalists, Empedocles and Pliny, who both perished by too near an approach to Ætna and Vesuvius, while they were exploring the cause of their eruptions.

Or some old temple, nodding to its fall,
For Chartres' head reserve the hanging wall? 130

But still this world (so fitted for the knave)
Contents us not. A better shall we have?

A kingdom of the Just then let it be:
But first consider how those Just agree.

The good must merit God's peculiar care; 135

But who, but God, can tell us who they are?

One thinks on Calvin Heav'n's own spirit fell;

Another deems him instrument of hell;

If Calvin feel Heav'n's blessing, or its rod,
This cries there is, and that, there is no God. 140

What shocks one part will edify the rest,

Nor with one system can they all be blest.

The very best will variously incline,

And what rewards your Virtue, punish mine.

WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT.—This world, 'tis true,
Was made for Cæsar—but for Titus too: 146

And which more blest? who chain'd his country, say,

Or he whose Virtue sigh'd to lose a day?

“But sometimes Virtue starves, while Vice is fed.”

What then? Is the reward of Virtue bread? 150

VARIATIONS.

After VER. 142. in some Editions,

Give each a System, all must be at strife;

What different Systems for a Man and Wife?

That, Vice may merit, 'tis the price of toil;
The knave deserves it, when he tills the foil,
The knave deserves it, when he tempts the main,
Where Folly fights for kings, or dives for gain.
The good man may be weak, be indolent; 155
Nor is his claim to plenty, but content.
But grant him Riches, your demand is o'er?
"No—shall the good want Health, the good want
Pow'r?"

Add Health, and Pow'r, and ev'ry earthly thing,
"Why bounded Pow'r? why private? why no king?"
Nay, why external for internal giv'n? 161
Why is not Man a God, and Earth a Heav'n?
Who ask and reason thus, will scarce conceive
God gives enough, while he has more to give:
Immense the pow'r immense were the demand; 165
Say, at what part of nature will they stand?

What nothing earthly gives, or can destroy,
The soul's calm sun-shine, and the heart-felt joy,
Is Virtue's prize: A better would you fix?
Then give Humility a coach and fix, 170
Justice a Conq'r's sword, or Truth a gown,
Or Public Spirit its great cure, a Crown.

VARIATIONS.

After y 172. in the MS.

Say, what rewards this idle world imparts,
Or fit for searching heads or honest hearts.

Weak, foolish man! will Heav'n reward us there
 With the same trash mad mortals wish for here?
 The Boy and Man an individual makes, 175
 Yet sigh'st thou now for apples and for cakes?
 Go, like the Indian, in another life,
 Expect thy dog, thy bottle, and thy wife:
 As well as dream such trifles are assign'd,
 As toys and empires, for a god-like mind. 180
 Rewards, that either would to Virtue bring
 No joy, or be destructive of the thing:
 How oft by these at sixty are undone
 The virtues of a saint at twenty-one!
 To whom can Riches give Repute, or Trust, 185
 Content, or Pleasure, but the Good and Just?
 Judges and Senates have been bought for gold,
 Esteem and Love were never to be sold.
 Oh fool! to think God hates the worthy mind,
 The lover and the love of human-kind, 190

NOTES.

VER. 177. *Go, like the Indian, &c*] Alluding to the example of the Indian in Epist. i. v. 99. and shewing, that that example was not given to discredit any rational hopes of future happiness, but only to reprove the folly of separating them from charity: as when

—Zeal, not Charity, became the guide,
 And hell was built on spite, and heav'n on pride.

EP. IV. ESSAY ON MAN. 85

Whose life is healthful, and whose conscience clear,
Because he wants a thousand pounds a year.

Honour and shame from no Condition rise ;
Act well your part, there all the honour lies. 194

Fortune in Men has some small difference made,
One flaunts in rags, one flutters in brocade ;
The cobbler apron'd, and the parson gown'd,
The frier hooded, and the monarch crown'd.

"What differ more (you cry) than crown and cowl?"
I'll tell you, friend! a wise man and a Fool. 200

You'll find, if once the monarch acts the monk,
Or, cobbler-like, the parson will be drunk,
Worth makes the man, and want of it, the fellow ;
The rest is all but leather or prunella. 204

Stuck o'er with titles and hung round with strings,
That thou may'st be by Kings, or whores of kings.
Boast the pure blood of an illustrious race,
In quiet flow from Lucrece to Lucrece :

VARIATIONS.

VER. 207. *Boast the pure blood, &c.*] in the MS. thus,
The richest blood, right-honourably old,
Down from Lucretia to Lucretia roll'd,
May swell thy heart and gallop in thy breast,
Without one dash of usher or of priest :
Thy pride as much despise all other pride
As Christ-Church once all colleges beside.

But by your father's worth if your's you rate,
 Count me those only who were good and great. 210
 Go! if your ancient, but ignoble blood
 Has crept thro' scoundrels ever since the flood,
 Go! and pretend your family is young;
 Nor own, your fathers have been fools so long.
 What can ennoble fots, or slaves, or cowards? 215
 Alas! not all the blood of all the HOWARDS.

Look next on Greatness; say where Greatness lies?
 "Where, but among the Heroes and the Wife?"
 Heroes are much the same, the point's agreed,
 From Macedonia's madman to the Swede; 220

NOTES.

VER. 219. *Heroes are much the same, &c.*] This character might have been drawn with much more force; and deserved the poet's care. But Milton supplies what is here wanting.

*They err who count it glorious to subdue
 By conquest far and wide, to over-run
 Large Countries, and in field great Battles win,
 Great Cities by assault. What do these worthies,
 But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave
 Peaceable Nations, neighb'ring or remote,
 Made captive, yet deserving Freedom more
 Than those their Conqu'rors; who leave behind
 Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,
 And all the flourishing works of peace destroy?
 Then swell with pride, and must be titled Gods;
 'Till Conqu'ror Death discovers them scarce Men,
 Rolling in brutish Vices, and deform'd,
 Violent or shameful death their due reward.*

Par. Reg. B. iii.

EP. IV. ESSAY ON MAN. 87

The whole strange purpose of their lives, to find
Or make, an enemy of all mankind!

Not one looks backward, onward still he goes,
Yet ne'er looks forward farther than his nose.

No less alike the Politic and Wise; 225

All fly slow things, with circumspective eyes:
Men in their loose unguarded hours they take,
Not that themselves are wise, but others weak.

But grant that those can conquer, these can cheat;

'Tis phrase absurd to call a Villain Great: 230

Who wickedly is wise, or madly brave,
Is but the more a fool, the more a knave.

Who noble ends by noble means obtains,
Or failing, smiles in exile or in chains,
Like good Aurelius let him reign, or bleed 235
Like Socrates, that Man is great indeed.

What's Fame? a fancy'd life in others breath,
A thing beyond us, ev'n before our death.

Just what you hear, you have, and what's unknown
The same (my Lord) if Tully's, or your own.

All that we feel of it begins and ends 241

In the small circle of our foes or friends;

To all beside as much an empty shade

An Eugene living, as a Cæsar dead;

Alike or when, or where, they shone, or shine, 245

Or on the Rubicon, or on the Rhine.

A Wit's a feather, and a Chief a rod ;
 An honest Man's the noble work of God.
 Fame but from death a villain's name can save,
 As Justice tears his body from the grave ; 250
 When what t'oblivion better were resign'd,
 Is hung on high, to poison half mankind.
 All fame is foreign, but of true desert ;
 Plays round the head, but comes not to the heart :
 One self-approving hour whole years out-weighs
 Of stupid starers, and of loud huzzas ; 256
 And more true joy Marcellus exil'd feels,
 Than Cæsar with a senate at his heels.

In Parts superior what advantage lies ?
 Tell (for You can) what is it to be wise ? 260
 'Tis but to know how little can be known ;
 To see all others faults, and feel our own :
 Condemn'd in bus'ness or in arts to drudge,
 Without a second, or without a judge :
 Truths would you teach, or save a sinking land ?
 All fear, none aid you, and few understand. 266
 Painful preheminance ! yourself to view
 Above life's weakness, and its comforts too.

Bring then these blessings to a strict account ;
 Make fair deductions ; see to what they mount :
 How much of other each is sure to cost ; 271
 How each for other oft is wholly lost ;

How inconsistent greater goods with these ;
 How sometimes life is risqu'd, and always ease :
 Think, and if still the things thy envy call, 275
 Say, would'st thou be the Man to whom they fall ?
 To sigh for ribbands if thou art so silly,
 Mark how they grace Lord Umbra, or Sir Billy :
 Is yellow dirt the passion of thy life ?
 Look but on Gripus, or on Gripus' wife : 280
 If Parts allure thee, think how Bacon shin'd,
 The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind :
 Or ravish'd with the whistling of a Name,
 See Cromwell, damn'd to everlasting fame !

NOTES.

VER. 281, 283. *If Parts allure thee, — Or ravish'd with the whistling of a Name,*] These two instances are chosen with great judgment ; the world, perhaps, doth not afford two other such. Bacon discovered and laid down those principles, by the assistance of which Newton was enabled to unfold the whole law of Nature. He was no less eminent for the creative power of his imagination, the brightness of his thoughts, and the force of his expression : Yet being convicted and punished for

bribery and corruption in the administration of Justice, while he presided in the supreme Court of Equity, he endeavoured to repair his ruined fortunes by the most profligate flattery to the Court : Which, from his very first entrance into it, he had accustomed himself to practise with a prostitution that disgraceth the very profession of letters.

Cromwell seemeth to be distinguished in the most eminent manner, with regard to his abilities, from all other great and wicked

If all, united, thy ambition call, 285
 From ancient story learn to scorn them all.
 There, in the rich, the honour'd, fam'd, and great,
 See the false scale of Happiness complete !
 In hearts of Kings, or arms of Queens who lay,
 How happy ! those to ruin, these betray. 290
 Mark by what wretched steps their glory grows,
 From dirt and sea-weed as proud Venice rose ;
 In each how guilt and greatness equal ran,
 And all that rais'd the Hero, sunk the Man :

NOTES.

men, who have overturned the Liberties of their Country. The times, in which others succeeded in this attempt, were such as saw the spirit of Liberty suppressed and stifled by a general luxury and venality : But Cromwell subdued his country, when this spirit was at its height, by a successful struggle against court-oppression ; and while it was conducted and supported by a set of the greatest Geniuses for government the world ever saw embarked together in one common cause.

VER. 283. *Or ravish'd with the whistling of a Name.*] And even this fantastic glory sometimes suffers a terrible reverse. —

Sachavarel, in his *Voyage to I-columkill*, describing the church there, tells us, that " In one corner is a peculiar inclosure, in which " were the monuments of " the kings of many different nations, as Scotland, " Ireland, Norway, and the " *Isle of Man*. THIS (said " the person who shewed me " place, pointing to a plain " stone) was the monument " of the Great TEAGUE, " king of Ireland. I had " never heard of him, and " could not but reflect of " how little value is *Greatness* that has barely left a " name scandalous to a nation, and a grave which " the meanest of mankind " would never envy."

EP. IV. ESSAY ON MAN. 91

Now Europe's laurels on their brows behold, 295
But stain'd with blood, or ill exchange'd for gold:
Then see them broke with toils, or sunk in ease,
Or infamous for plunder'd provinces.

Oh wealth ill-fated! which no act of fame
E'er taught to shine, or sanctify'd from shame! 300
What greater bliss attends their close of life?

Some greedy minion, or imperious wife.
The trophy'd arches, story'd halls invade
And haunt their slumbers in the pompous shade.
Alas! not dazzled with their noon-tide ray, 305
Compute the morn and ev'ning to the day;
The whole amount of that enormous fame,
A Tale, that blends their glory with their shame!

Know then this truth (enough for Man to know)
"Virtue alone is Happiness below." 310

The only point where human bliss stands still,
And tastes the good without the fall to ill;
Where only Merit constant pay receives,
Is blest in what it takes, and what it gives;
The joy unequal'd, if its end it gain, 315
And if it lose, attended with no pain:

VARIATIONS.

After ♪ 316. in the MS.

Ev'n while it seems unequal to dispose,
And checquers all the good Man's joys with woes,

Without satiety, tho' e'er so blest'd,
 And but more relish'd as the more distress'd :
 The broadest mirth unfeeling Folly wears,
 Less pleasing far than Virtue's very tears: 320
 Good, from each object, from each place acquir'd,
 For ever exercis'd, yet never tir'd ;
 Never elated, while one man's oppress'd ;
 Never dejected, while another's blest'd ;
 And where no wants, no wishes can remain, 325
 Since but to wish more Virtue, is to gain.

See the sole bliss Heav'n could on all bestow !
 Which who but feels can taste, but thinks can know :
 Yet poor with fortune, and with learning blind,
 The bad must miss ; the good, untaught, will find ;
 Slave to no sect, who takes no private road, 331
 But looks thro' Nature, up to Nature's God ;

VARIATIONS.

'Tis but to teach him to support each state,
 With patience this, with moderation that ;
 And raise his base on that one solid joy,
 Which conscience gives, and nothing can destroy.

These lines are extremely finished. In which there is such a soothing sweetness in the melancholy harmony of the versification, as if the poet was then in that tender office in which he was most officious, and in which all his Soul came out, the condoling with some good man in affliction.

Pursues that Chain which links th'immense design,
 Joins heav'n and earth, and mortal and divine,
 Sees, that no Being any bliss can know, 335
 But touches some above, and some below ;
 Learns, from this union of the rising Whole,
 The first, last purpose of the human soul ;
 And knows where Faith, Law, Morals, all began,
 All end, in LOVE OF GOD, and LOVE OF MAN. 340
 For him alone, Hope leads from goal to goal,
 And opens still, and opens on his soul ;

NOTES.

VER. 341. *For him alone, Hope leads from goal to goal, &c.*] PLATO, in his first book of a Republic, hath a remarkable passage to this purpose. "He whose conscience does not reproach him, has chearful *Hope*, for his companion, and the support and comfort of his old age, according to Pindar. For this great poet, O Socrates, very elegantly says, That he who leads a just and holy life has always amiable *Hope* for his companion, which fills his heart with

"joy, and is the support and comfort of his old age. *Hope*, the most powerful of the Divinities, in governing the ever-changing and inconstant temper of mortal men." τῷ δὲ μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ ἄδικον ξυνειδῶτι ἡδεῖα ἐλπίς ἀεὶ πάρεστι, καὶ ἀγαθὴ γηροτρόφος, ὡς καὶ Πίνδαρος λέγει. Χαριέντως γάρ τοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, τῷτ' ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν, ὅτι ὃς ἂν δικαίως καὶ ὁσίως τὸν βίον διαγάγῃ, γλυκεῖά οἱ καρδίαν ἀτάλλεσσι γηροτρόφος συναορεῖ ἐλπίς, ἧ μάλιστα θνατῶν πολυτρόφον γνῶμαν κερκερᾷ. In the same manner Euripides speaks in his *Hercules furens*,

Οὗτος δ' ἀνὴρ ἄριστος, ὅς τις ἐλπίσιν
 Πέποιθεν αἰεὶ, τὸ δ' ἀπορεῖν, ἀνδρὸς κακῆ.

'Till lengthen'd on to Faith, and unconfin'd,
 It pours the blifs that fills up all the mind.
 He fees, why Nature plants in Man alone 345
 Hope of known blifs, and Faith in blifs unknown :
 (Nature, whose dictates to no other kind
 Are giv'n in vain, but what they seek they find)
 Wife is her present ; ſhe connects in this
 His greateſt Virtue with his greateſt Blifs ; 350
 At once his own bright proſpect to be bleſt,
 And ſtrongeſt motive to aſſiſt the reſt.

Self-love thus puſh'd to ſocial, to divine,
 Gives thee to make thy neighbour's bleſſing thine.
 Is this too little for the boundleſs heart ? 355
 Extend it, let thy enemies have part :
 Graſp the whole worlds of Reason, Life, and Senſe,
 In one cloſe ſyſtem of Benevolence :
 Happier as kinder, in whate'er degree,
 And height of Blifs but height of Charity. 360

God loves from Whole to Parts : But human ſoul
 Muſt riſe from Individual to the Whole.
 Self-love but ſerves the virtuous mind to wake,
 As the ſmall pebble ſtirs the peaceful lake ;

NOTES.

" He is the good man in		" <i>without hope in the world</i>
" <i>whose breast Hope springs</i>		" is the portion of the
" <i>eternally : But to be</i>		" <i>wicked.</i> "

EP. IV. ESSAY ON MAN.

95

The centre mov'd, a circle strait succeeds, 365
 Another still, and still another spreads ;
 Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace ;
 His country next ; and next all human race ;
 Wide and more wide, th'o'erflowings of the mind
 Take ev'ry creature in, of ev'ry kind ; 370
 Earth smiles around, with boundless bounty blest,
 And Heav'n beholds its image in his breast.

Come then, my Friend ! my Genius ! come along ;
 Oh master of the poet, and the song ! 374

VARIATIONS.

VER. 373. *Come then, my friend ! &c.*] in the MS. thus,

And now transported o'er so vast a Plain,
 While the wing'd courser flies with all her rein,

NOTES.

VER. 373. *Come then, my Friend ! &c.*] This noble Apostrophe, by which the Poet concludes the Essay in an address to his friend, will furnish a Critic with Examples of every one of those *five Species of Elocution, from which, as from its Sources, Longinus deduceth the SUBLIME* ^a.
 1. The first and chief is a *Grandeur and Sublimity of Conception* :

^a—πέντε πηγαί τινές εἰσιν τ' ὑψηλοῦς. 1. Πρῶτον μὲν καὶ κράτιστον τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἀδρεπήσθαι. 2. Δεύτερον δὲ τὸ σφοδρὸν καὶ ἐνδυσιαστικὸν πάθος. 3. Ποιὰ τῶν σχημάτων πλάσις. 4. Ἡ γενναῖα φράσις. 5. Πέμπτη δὲ μεγέθους αἰτία, καὶ συγκαλίσσας τὰ πρὸ ἑαυτῆς πάντα, ἢ ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ διάρσει σύνδεσις.

And while the Muse now stoops, or now ascends,
To Man's low passions, or their glorious ends,

VARIATIONS.

While heav'n-ward now her mounting wing she feels,
Now scatter'd fools fly trembling from her heels,
Wilt thou, my St John ! keep her course in sight,
Confine her fury and assist her flight ?

NOTES.

*Come then, my Friend ! my Genius ! come along,
O Master of the Poet, and the Song !
And while the Muse now stoops, and now ascends,
To Man's low passions, or their glorious ends,*

2. The Second, that Pa- | the same Time, melts and
thetic Enthusiasm, which, at | inflames :

*Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,
To fall with dignity, with temper rise,
Form'd by thy converse, happily to steer
From grave to gay, from lively to severe ;
Correct with spirit, eloquent with Ease,
Intent to reason, or polite to please.*

3. A certain elegant Formation and Ordonance of Figures :

*O ! while along the stream of Time thy name
Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame,
Say, shall my little bark attendant sail,
Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale !*

4. A splendid Diction :

*When statesmen, heroes, kings, in dust repose,
Whose sons shall blush their fathers were thy foes,
Shall then this verse to future age pretend
Thou wert my guide, philosopher, and friend ?*

EP. IV. ESSAY ON MAN.

97

Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,
 To fall with dignity, with temper rise;
 Form'd by thy converse, happily to steer
 From grave to gay, from lively to severe; 380
 Correct with spirit, eloquent with ease,
 Intent to reason, or polite to please.
 Oh! while along the stream of Time thy name
 Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame,
 Say, shall my little bark attendant fail, 385
 Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale?
 When statesmen, heroes, kings, in dust repose,
 Whose sons shall blush their fathers were thy foes,
 Shall then this verse to future age pretend
 Thou wert my guide, philosopher, and friend? 390
 That urg'd by thee, I turn'd the tuneful art
 From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart;

NOTES.

*That, urg'd by thee, I turn'd the tuneful art,
 From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart;
 For Wit's false mirror held up Nature's light;*

5. And fifthly, which in- | a Weight and Dignity in
 cludes in itself all the rest, | the Composition:

*Shew'd erring Pride whatever is, is RIGHT;
 That REASON, PASSION, answer one great AIM;
 That true SELF-LOVE and SOCIAL are the SAME;
 That VIRTUE only makes our BLISS below;
 And all our Knowledge is OURSELVES TO KNOW?*

For Wit's false mirror held up Nature's light ;
 Shew'd erring Pride, WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT ;
 That REASON, PASSION, answer one great aim ; 395
 That true SELF-LOVE and SOCIAL are the same ;
 That VIRTUE only makes our Blis below ;
 And all our Knowledge is, OURSELVES TO KNOW.

VARIATIONS.

VER. 397. *That Virtue only, &c.*] in the MS. thus,

That just to find a God is all we can,
 And all the Study of Mankind is Man.



THE
UNIVERSAL
PRAYER.

DEO OPT. MAX.

THE UNIVERSITY OF
THE STATE OF NEW YORK
IN SENATE
JANUARY 18, 1880
REPORT OF THE
COMMISSIONER OF THE
LAND OFFICE

UNIVERSAL

P. RAYE

DELOTTMAN



THE Universal Prayer.

DEO OPT. MAX.

FATHER of All! in ev'ry Age,
In ev'ry Clime ador'd,
By Saint, by Savage, and by Sage,
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!

COMMENTARY.

Universal Prayer.] Concerning this poem, it may be proper to observe, that some passages, in the preceding *Essay*, having been unjustly suspected of a tendency towards Fate and *Naturalism*, the author composed this Prayer as the sum of all, to shew that his system was founded in *free-will*, and terminated in piety: That the first cause was as well the Lord and Governor of the Universe as the Creator of it; and that, by submission to his will (the great principle inforced throughout the *Essay*) was not meant the suffering ourselves to be carried along

Thou Great First Cause; least understood :

Who all my Sense confin'd
To know but this, that Thou art Good,
And that myself am blind ;

Yet gave me, in this dark Estate,
To see the Good from Ill ;
And binding Nature fast in Fate,
Left free the Human Will.

What Conscience dictates to be done,
Or warns me not to do,
This, teach me more than Hell to shun,
That, more than Heav'n pursue.

What Blessings thy free Bounty gives,
Let me not cast away ;
For God is pay'd when Man receives,
T'enjoy is to obey.

COMMENTARY.

with a blind determination ; but a religious acquiescence, and confidence full of *Hope* and Immortality. To give all this the greater weight and reality, the poet chose for his model the LORD'S PRAYER, which, of all others, best deserves the title prefixed to this Paraphrase.

Yet not to Earth's contracted Span,
 Thy Goodness let me bound,
 Or think Thee Lord alone of Man,
 When thousand Worlds are round :

Let not this weak, unknowing hand
 Presume thy bolts to throw,
 And deal damnation round the land,
 On each I judge thy Foe.

If I am right, thy grace impart,
 Still in the right to stay ;
 If I am wrong, oh teach my heart
 To find that better way.

NOTES.

*If I am right, thy grace impart, —
 If I am wrong, O teach my heart]*

As the *imparting grace* on the christian system is a stronger exertion of the divine power, than the natural illumination of the heart, one would expect that the request should have been expressed reverfely ; more aid being required to re-
 store men to the *right* than to keep them in it. But as it was the poet's purpose to insinuate that Revelation was the *right*, nothing could better exprefs his purpose than the making the *right* fecured by the guards of *grace*.

Save me alike from foolish Pride,
Or impious Discontent,
At ought thy Wisdom has deny'd.
Or ought thy Goodness lent.

Teach me to feel another's Woe,
To hide the Fault I see ;
That Mercy I to others show,
That Mercy show to me.

Mean tho' I am, not wholly so
Since quick'ned by thy Breath ;
Oh lead me wheresoe'er I go,
Thro' this day's Life or Death.

This day, be Bread and Peace my Lot :
All else beneath the Sun,
Thou know'st if best bestow'd or not,
And let Thy Will be done.

To thee, whose Temple is all Space,
Whose Altar, Earth, Sea, Skies !
One Chorus let all Being raise !
All Nature's Incense rise !

MORAL ESSAYS,

IN

FOUR EPISTLES

TO

Several Persons.

Est brevitæ opus, ut currat sententia, neu se
Impediat verbis lassis onerantibus aures : .

Et sermone opus est modo tristi, sæpe jocosæ,
Defendente vicem modo Rhetoris atque Poetæ,

Interdum urbani, parcentis viribus, atque

Extenuantis eas consultò.

HOR.

FOUR FIFTY EIGHT

Several Persons

MORAL ESSAYS.

EPISTLE I.

TO

Sir Richard Temple, Lord Cobham.

ARGUMENT.

Of the Knowledge and Characters of MEN.

THAT it is not sufficient for this knowledge to consider Man in the Abstract: Books will not serve the purpose, nor yet our own Experience singly, § 1. General maxims, unless they be formed upon both, will be but notional, § 10. Some Peculiarity in every man, characteristic to himself, yet varying from himself, § 15. Difficulties arising from our own Passions, Fancies, Faculties, &c. § 31. The shortness of Life, to observe in, and the uncertainty of the Principles of action in men, to observe by, § 37, &c. Our own Principle of action often hid from ourselves, § 41. Some few Characters plain, but in general confounded, dissembled, or inconsistent, § 51. The same man utterly different in different places and seasons, § 71. Unimaginable weaknesses

in the greatest, § 70, &c.. Nothing constant and certain but God and Nature, § 95. No judging of the Motives from the actions; the same actions proceeding from contrary Motives, and the same Motives influencing contrary actions, § 100. II. Yet to form Characters, we can only take the strongest actions of a man's life, and try to make them agree: The utter uncertainty of this, from Nature itself, and from Policy, § 120. Characters given according to the rank of men of the world, § 135. And some reason for it, § 140. Education alters the Nature, or at least Character of many, § 149. Actions, Passions, Opinions, Manners, Humours, or Principles all subject to change. No judging by Nature, from § 158 to 178. III. It only remains to find (if we can) his RULING PASSION: That will certainly influence all the rest, and can reconcile the seeming or real inconsistency of all his actions, § 175. Instanced in the extraordinary character of Clodio, § 179. A caution against mistaking second qualities for first, which will destroy all possibility of the knowledge of mankind, § 210. Examples of the strength of the Ruling Passion, and its continuation to the last breath, § 222, &c.







N. Blakey inv. & del.

G. Scotin Sculp.

Boastfull & rough your first Son is a Squire;
The next a Tradesman, meek and much a Liar;
Tom struts a Soldier, open, bold and Brave;
Will sneaks a Scrivener, an exceeding Knave.

Char: of Men.

E P I S T L E I.

YES, you despise the man to Books confin'd,
 Who from his study rails at human kind ;
 Tho' what he learns he speaks, and may advance
 Some gen'ral maxims, or be right by chance.
 The coxcomb bird, so talkative and grave, 5
 That from his cage cries Cuckold, Whore, and Knave,
 Tho' many a passenger he rightly call,
 You hold him no Philosopher at all.

And yet the fate of all extremes is such,
 Men may be read, as well as Books, too much. 10
 To observations which ourselves we make,
 We grow more partial for th'Observer's sake ;

NOTES.

VER. 5. *The coxcomb bird, &c.*] A fine turn'd allusion to what Philostratus said of Euxenus, the Tutor of Apollonius, that he could only repeat some sentences of Pythagoras, like those *coxcomb birds*, who were taught their $\epsilon\upsilon\ \pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\epsilon$ and their $\text{ΖΕΥΣ}\ \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, but knew not what they signified.

VER. 10. *And yet—Men may be read, as well as*

Books too much, &c.] The poet has here covertly describ'd a famous system of a *man of the world*, the celebrated *Maxims of M. de la Rochefoucault*, which are one continued *satire* on human Nature, and hold much of the ill language of the Parrot: The *reason* of the censure, our author's system of human nature will explain.

To written Wisdom, as another's less :
 Maxims are drawn from Notions, those from Guess.
 There's some Peculiar in each leaf and grain, 15
 Some unmark'd fibre, or some varying vein :
 Shall only Man be taken in the gross ?
 Grant but as many sorts of Mind as Moss.

That each from other differs, first confess ;
 Next, that he varies from himself no less : 20
 Add Nature's, Custom's, Reason's, Passion's strife,
 And all Opinion's colours cast on life.

Our depths who fathoms, or our shallows finds,
 Quick whirls, and shifting eddies, of our minds ?
 On human actions reason tho' you can, 25
 It may be Reason, but it is not Man :

NOTES.

VER. 22. *And all Opinion's colours cast on life.* | on Man he gives both the
 The poet refers here only | efficient and the final cause :
 to the effects : In the Essay | The First in the third Ep.
 y 231.

E'er Wit oblique had broke that steady light.

For *oblique Wit* is *Opinion*. The other, in the second
 Ep. y 283.

*Mean-while Opinion gilds with varying rays
 These painted clouds that beautify our days, &c.*

VER. 26. *It may be Reason, but it is not Man :*] i. e. | appearances he would in-
 The Philosopher may in- | vestigate ; and yet that hy-
 vent a rational hypothesis | potthesis be all the while very
 that shall account for the | wide of truth and the na-
 ture of things.

His Principle of action once explore,
That instant 'tis his Principle no more.
Like following life thro' creatures you dissect,
You lose it in the moment you detect. 30

Yet more ; the diff'rence is as great between
The optics seeing, as the objects seen.
All Manners take a tincture from our own ;
Or come discolour'd thro' our Passions shown.
Or Fancy's beam enlarges, multiplies, 35
Contracts, inverts, and gives ten thousand dyes.

Nor will Life's stream for Observation stay,
It hurries all too fast to mark their way :
In vain sedate reflections we wou'd make,
When half our knowledge we must snatch, not take.
Oft, in the Passions' wild rotation tost, 41
Our spring of action to ourselves is lost :
Tir'd, not determin'd, to the last we yield,
And what comes then is master of the field.
As the last image of that troubled heap, 45
When Sense subsides, and Fancy sports in sleep,
(Tho' past the recollection of the thought)
Becomes the stuff of which our dream is wrought :
Something as dim to our internal view,
Is thus, perhaps, the cause of most we do. 50

True, some are open, and to all men known ;
Others so very close, they're hid from none ;

(So Darkneſs ſtrikes the ſenſe no leſs than Light)

Thus gracious CHANDOS is belov'd at fight ;

And ev'ry child hates Shylock, tho' his ſoul 55

Still ſits at ſquat, and peeps not from its hole.

At half mankind when gen'rous Manly raves,

All know 'tis Virtue, for he thinks them knaves :

When univerſal homage Umbra pays,

All ſee 'tis Vice, and itch of vulgar praiſe. 60

When Flatt'ry glares, all hate it in a Queen,

While one there is who charms us with his Spleen.

But theſe plain Characters we rarely find ;

Tho' ſtrong the bent, yet quick the turns of mind :

Or puzzling Contraries confound the whole ; 65

Or Affectations quite reverſe the ſoul.

The Dull, flat Falſhood ſerves, for policy ;

And in the Cunning, Truth itſelf's a lye :

Unthought-of Frailties cheat us in the Wiſe ;

The Fool lies hid in inconfiſtencies. 70

See the ſame man, in vigour, in the gout ;

Alone, in company ; in place, or out ;

Early at Buſ'neſs, and at Hazard late ;

Mad at a Fox-chace, wiſe at a Debate ;

Drunk at a Borough, civil at a Ball ; 75

Friendly at Hackney, faithleſs at Whitehall.

Catius is ever moral, ever grave,

Thinks who endures a knave, is next a knave,

EP. I. MORAL ESSAYS. 113

Save just at dinner—then prefers, no doubt,
A Rogue with Ven'son to a Saint without. 80

Who would not praise Patritio's high desert,
His hand unstain'd, his uncorrupted heart,
His comprehensive head! all Int'rests weigh'd,
All Europe sav'd, yet Britain not betray'd.
He thanks you not, his pride is in Picquette, 85
New-market-fame, and judgment at a Bett.

What made (say Montagne, or more sage Charron!)
Otho a warrior, Cromwell a buffoon?

VARIATIONS.

After y 86. in the former Editions,

Triumphant leaders, at an army's head,
Hemm'd round with glories, pilfer cloth or bread;
As meanly plunder as they bravely fought,
Now save a People, and now save a goat.

NOTES.

VER. 81. *Patritio*] Lord
G—n.

VER. 87.—*say Montagne,*
or more sage Charron!] Charron was an admirer of
Montagne; had contracted
a strict friendship with him;
and has transferred an infi-

nite number of his thoughts
into his famous book *De la*
Sagesse; but his moderating
every-where the extrava-
gant Pyrrhonism of his
friend, is the reason why
the poet calls him *more sage*
Charron.

A perjur'd Prince a leaden Saint revere,
 A godless Regent tremble at a Star? 90
 The throne a Bigot keep, a Genius quit,
 Faithless thro' Piety, and dup'd thro' Wit?
 Europe a Woman, Child, or Dotard rule,
 And just her wisest monarch made a fool?
 Know, GOD and NATURE only are the same :
 In Man, the judgment shoots at flying game, 96

NOTES.

VER. 89. *A perjur'd Prince*] Louis XI. of France, wore in his Hat a leaden image of the Virgin Mary, which when he swore by, he feared to break his oath. P.

VER. 90. *A godless Regent tremble at a Star?*] Philip Duke of Orleans, Regent of France in the minority of Louis XV. superstitious in judicial astrology, tho' an unbeliever in all religion. P.

VER. 91. *The throne a Bigot keep, a Genius quit,*] Philip V. of Spain, who, after renouncing the throne for Religion, resumed it to gratify his Queen; and Victor Amadeus II. King of Sardinia, who resigned the crown, and trying to reas-

fume it, was imprisoned till his death. P.

VER. 93. *Europe a Woman, Child, or Dotard rule, — And just her wisest monarch made a fool?*] The Czarina, the King of France, the Pope, and the above-mentioned King of Sardinia.

VER. 95. *Know, God and Nature, &c.*] By *Nature* is not here meant any imaginary substitute of God, call'd a *Plastic nature*; but his *moral laws*: And this observation was inserted with great propriety and discretion, in the conclusion of a long detail of the various characters of men: For, from this circumstance, *Montagne* and others have been bold enough to insinuate, that

A bird of passage ! gone as soon as found,
Now in the Moon perhaps, now under ground.

In vain the Sage, with retrospective eye,
Would from th'apparent What conclude the Why,
Infer the Motive from the Deed, and shew, 101
That what we chanc'd was what we meant to do.
Behold ! If Fortune or a Mistress frowns,
Some plunge in bus'ness, others shave their crowns :
To ease the Soul of one oppressive weight, 105
This quits an Empire, that embroils a State :
The same adust complexion has impell'd
Charles to the Convent, Philip to the Field.

NOTES.

morality is founded more in custom and fashion than in the nature of things. The speaking therefore of a moral law of God, as having all the constancy and durability of his Essence, had an high expediency in this place.

VER. 107. *The same adust complexion has impell'd — Charles to the Convent, Philip to the Field.*] The atrabilaire complexion of Philip II. is well known, but not so well that he

derived it from his father Charles V. whose health the historians of his life tell us, was frequently disorder'd by bilious fevers. But what the author meant principally to observe here was, that this humour made both these princes act contrary to their Character ; Charles, who was an active man, when he retired into a Convent ; Philip, who was a man of the Closet, when he gave the battle of St Quentin.

Not always actions shew the man : We find
 Who does a kindness, is not therefore kind ; 110
 Perhaps Prosperity becalm'd his breast,
 Perhaps the Wind just shifted from the east :
 Not therefore humble he who seeks retreat,
 Pride guides his steps, and bids him shun the great :
 Who combats bravely is not therefore brave, 115
 He dreads a death-bed like the meanest slave :
 Who reasons wisely is not therefore wise,
 His pride in Reas'ning, not in Acting lies.

But grant that Actions best discover man ;
 Take the most strong, and sort them as you can. 120
 The few that glare each character must mark,
 You balance not the many in the dark.
 What will you do with such as disagree ?
 Suppress them, or miscall them Policy ?
 Must then at once (the character to save) 125
 The plain rough Hero turn a crafty Knave ?
 Alas ! in truth the man but chang'd his mind,
 Perhaps was sick, in love, or had not din'd.

NOTES.

VER. 117. *Who reasons* | resolving in public coun-
wisely, &c.] By reasoning | sels ; for this instance is
is not here meant specula- | given as *one*, of a variety
ting ; but deliberating and | of *actions*.

Ask why from Britain Cæsar would retreat?

Cæsar himself might whisper he was beat. 130

Why risk the world's great empire for a Punk?

Cæsar perhaps might answer he was drunk.

VARIATIONS.

VER. 129. in the former Editions,

Ask why from Britain Cæsar made retreat?

Cæsar himself would tell you he was beat.

The mighty Czar what mov'd to wed a Punk?

The mighty Czar would tell you he was drunk.

Alter'd as above, because Cæsar wrote his Commentaries of this war, and does *not* tell you he was beat. As Cæsar too afforded an instance of both cases, it was thought better to make him the single Example.

NOTES.

VER. 130. *Cæsar himself might whisper he was beat.*] *world's great empire for a Punk?*] After the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar pursued his enemy to Alexandria, where being infatuated with the charms of Cleopatra, instead of pushing his advantages, and dispersing the relicks of the Pharsalian quarrel, having narrowly escaped the violence of an enraged people, he brought upon himself an unnecessary war, at a time his arms were most wanted elsewhere.

VER. 131. *Why risque the*

But, sage historians ! 'tis your task to prove
One action Conduct ; one, heroic Love.

'Tis from high Life high Characters are drawn ;
A Saint in Crape is twice a Saint in Lawn ; 136
A Judge is just, a Chanc'lor juster still ;
A Gownman, learn'd ; a Bishop, what you will ;
Wife, if a Minister ; but, if a King,
More wise, more learn'd, more just, more ev'ry thing.
Court-virtues bear, like Gems, the highest rate, 141
Born where Heav'n's influence scarce can penetrate :
In life's low vale, the foil the Virtues like,
They please as beauties, here as wonders strike.
Tho' the same Sun with all-diffusive rays 145
Blush in the Rose, and in the Di'mond blaze,
We prize the stronger effort of his pow'r,
And justly set the Gem above the Flow'r.

'Tis Education forms the common mind,
Just as the Twig is bent, the Tree's inclin'd. 150
Boastful and rough, your first son is a 'Squire ;
The next a Tradesman, meek, and much a liar ;
Tom struts a Soldier, open, bold, and brave ;
Will sneaks a Scriv'ner, an exceeding knave : 154
Is he a Churchman ? then he's fond of pow'r :
A Quaker ? fly : A Presbyterian ? sow'r :
A smart Free-thinker ? all things in an hour. }

Ask men's Opinions: Scoto now shall tell!
How Trade increases, and the World goes well;
Strike off his Pension, by the setting sun, 160
And Britain, if not Europe, is undone.

That gay Free-thinker, a fine talker once,
What turns him now a stupid silent dunce?
Some God, or Spirit he has lately found;
Or chanc'd to meet a Minister that frown'd. 165

Judge we by Nature? Habit can efface,
Int'rest o'ercome, or Policy take place:
By Actions? those Uncertainty divides:
By Passions? these Diffimulation hides:
Opinions? they still take a wider range: 170
Find, if you can, in what you cannot change.

Manners with Fortunes, Humours turn with
Climes,
Tenets with Books, and Principles with Times.

NOTES.

VER. 172, 173. *Manners with Fortunes, Humours turn with Climes, Tenets with Books, and Principles with Times*] The poet had hitherto reckoned up the several *simple* causes that hinder our knowledge of the natural characters of men. In these two fine lines he describes the *complicated* causes. *Humours* bear the same relation to *Manners*, that *Principles* do to *Tenets*; that is, the former are *modes* of the latter; our *Manners* are warped from nature by our *Fortunes* or *Stations*; our *Tenets*, by our *Books* or *Professions*; and then each

Search then the RULING PASSION, There, alone,
 The Wild are constant, and the Cunning known;
 The Fool consistent, and the False sincere; 176
 Priests, Princes, Women, no dissemblers here.
 This clue once found, unravels all the rest,
 The prospect clears, and Wharton stands confest.
 Wharton, the scorn and wonder of our days, 180
 Whose ruling Passion was the Lust of Praise:
 Born with whate'er could win it from the Wife,
 Women and Fools must like him or he dies;
 Tho' wond'ring Senates hung on all he spoke,
 The Club must hail him master of the joke. 185
 Shall parts so various aim at nothing new?
 He'll shine a Tully and a Wilmot too.
 Then turns repentant, and his God adores
 With the same spirit that he drinks and whores;

NOTES.

drawn still more oblique, into *humour* and political *principles*, by the temperature of the *climate*, and the constitution of the *government*.

VER. 174. *Search then the Ruling Passion:*] See Essay on Man, Ep. ii. § 133, & seq.

VER. 181. *the Lust of Praise.*] "This very well expresses the *grossness* of his

appetite for it; where the *strength* of the Passion had destroyed all the *delicacy* of the Sensation.

VER. 187. John Wilmot, E. of Rochester, famous for his Wit and Extravagancies in the time of Charles the Second. P.

VER. 189. *With the same spirit*] *Spirit*, for principle, not passion.

Enough if all around him but admire, 190
 And now the Punk applaud, and now the Fryer.
 Thus with each gift of nature and of art,
 And wanting nothing but an honest heart ;
 Grown all to all, from no one vice exempt ;
 And most contemptible, to shun contempt ; 195
 His Passion still, to covet gen'ral praise,
 His Life, to forfeit it a thousand ways ;
 A constant Bounty which no friend has made ;
 An angel Tongue, which no Man can persuade ;
 A Fool, with more of Wit than half mankind, 200
 Too rash for Thought, for Action too refin'd :
 A Tyrant to the wife his heart approves ;
 A Rebel to the very king he loves ;
 He dies, sad out-cast of each church and state,
 And, harder still ! flagitious, yet not great. 205

NOTES.

VER 200. *A Fool, with* | call *Absurdity*; and this *Ab-*
more of Wit] *Folly*, joined | surdity the poet has here
 with much *Wit*, produces | admirably described in the
 that behaviour which we | words,

Too rash for Thought, for Action too refin'd :

by which we are made to | and pursued his *Speculations*
 understand, that the person | when he should have trusted
 described gave a loose to | to his *Experience*.
 his *Fancy* when he should | VER. 205. *And, harder*
 have used his *Judgment* ; | *still, flagitious, yet not*

Ask you why Wharton broke thro' ev'ry rule?
'Twas all for fear the Knaves should call him Fool.

Nature well known, no prodigies remain,
Comets are regular, and Wharton plain.

Yet, in this search, the wisest may mistake, 210
If second qualities for first they take.

VARIATIONS.

In the former Editions, y 208.

Nature well known, no *Miracles* remain.
Alter'd, as above, for very obvious reasons.

NOTES.

great] To arrive at what the world calls *Greatness*, a man must either hide and conceal his vices, or he must openly and steddily practise them, in the pursuit and attainment of one important end. This unhappy Nobleman did neither.

VER. 207. 'Twas all for

fear, &c.] To understand this, we must observe, that the *Lust of general praise* made the person, whose Character is here so admirable drawn, both *extra-vagant* and *flagitious*; his *Madness* was to please the Fools,

Women and Fools must like him, or he dies.

And his Crimes to avoid the censure of the Knaves,

'Twas all for fear the Knaves should call him Fool.

Prudence and Honesty being the two qualities that Fools and Knaves are most in-

terested, and consequently most industrious, to misrepresent.

When Catiline by rapine swell'd his store ;
 When Cæsar made a noble dame a whore ;
 In this the Lust, in that the Avarice
 Were means, not ends ; Ambition was the vice. 215
 That very Cæsar, born in Scipio's days,
 Had aim'd, like him, by Chastity at praise.
 Lucullus, when Frugality could charm,
 Had roasted turnips in the Sabin farm.
 In vain th' observer eyes the builder's toil, 220
 But quite mistakes the scaffold for the pile.

In this one Passion man can strength enjoy,
 As Fits give vigour, just when they destroy.
 Time, that on all things lays his lenient hand,
 Yet tames not this ; it sticks to our last sand. 225
 Consistent in our follies and our sins,
 Here honest Nature ends as she begins.

Old Politicians chew on wisdom past,
 And totter on in bus'ness to the last ;

NOTES.

VER. 213. — *a noble Dame a whore,*] The sister of Cato, and mother of Brutus.

VER. 227. *Here honest Nature ends as she begins.*] Human nature is here hu-

mourously called *honest*, as the impulse of the *ruling passion* (which she gives and cherishes) makes her more and more impatient of disguise.

As weak, as earnest; and as gravely out, 230

As sober Laneſb'row dancing in the gout.

Behold a rev'rend ſire, whom want of grace

Has made the father of a nameleſs race,

Shov'd from the wall perhaps, or rudely preſs'd

By his own ſon, that paſſes by unbleſs'd: 235

Still to his wench he crawls on knocking knees,

And envies ev'ry ſparrow that he ſees.

A ſalmon's belly, Helluo, was thy fate;

The doctor call'd, declares all help too late:

"Mercy! cries Helluo, mercy on my ſoul! 240

"Is there no hope?—Alas!—then bring the jowl."

The frugal Crone, whom praying prieſts attend,

Still ſtrives to ſave the hallow'd taper's end,

Collects her breath, as ebbing life retires,

For one puff more, and in that puff expires. 245

"Odious! in woollen! 'twould a Saint provoke,

(Were the laſt words that poor Narciſſa ſpoke)

NOTES.

VER. 231. *Laneſb'row.*] An ancient Nobleman, who continued this practice long after his legs were diſabled by the gout. Upon the death of Prince George of Denmark, he demanded an audience of the Queen, to

advise her to preſerve her health and diſpel her grief by *Dancing*. P.

VER. 247. — *the laſt words that poor Narciſſa ſpoke*] This ſtory, as well as the others, is founded on fact, though the author

“ No, let a charming Chintz, and Bruffels lace
 “ Wrap my cold limbs, and shade my lifeless face :
 “ One would not, sure, be frightful when one’s dead—
 “ And—Betty—give this Cheek a little Red.” 251

The Courtier smooth, who forty years had shin’d
 An humble servant to all human kind,
 Just brought out this, when scarce his tongue could
 stir,

“ If—where I’am going—I could serve you, Sir ?

“ I give and I devise (old Euclio said, 256
 And sigh’d) “ my lands and tenements to Ned.

Your money, Sir ; “ My money, Sir, what all ?

“ Why,—if I must—(then wept) I give it Paul.

The Manor, Sir ?—“ The Manor ! hold, he cry’d,

“ Not that,—I cannot part with that”—and dy’d.

And you ! brave COBHAM, to the latest breath
 Shall feel your ruling passion strong in death :
 Such in those moments as in all the past,

“ Oh, save my Country, Heav’n !” shall be your last.

NOTES.

had the goodness not to mention the names. Several attribute this in particular to a very celebrated Actress, who, in detestation of the	thought of being buried in woollen, gave these her last orders with her dying breath, P.
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MORAL ESSAYS.

EPISTLE II.

TO

A L A D Y.

Of the Characters of Women.

NOTHING so true as what you once let fall,
 “Most Women have no Characters at all.”
 Matter too soft a lasting mark to bear,
 And best distinguish’d by black, brown, or fair.

NOTES.

Of the Characters of Women.] There is nothing in Mr Pope’s works more highly finished than this Epistle: Yet its success was in no proportion to the pains he took in composing it. Something he chanced to drop in a short Advertisement prefixed to it, on

its first publication, may perhaps account for the small attention given to it. He said, that *no one character in it was drawn from the life.* The Public believed him on his word, and expressed little curiosity about a Satire in which there was nothing personal.



N. Blakey inv. & del.

G. Scottin sculp.

In Men, we various ruling Passions find,
In Women, two almost divide the Kind;
Those only fix'd, they first or last obey,
The Love of Pleasure, and the Love of Sway.

Char: of Women.



How many pictures of one Nymph we view, 5
 All how unlike each other, all how true!
 Arcadia's Countess, here, in ermin'd pride,
 Is there, Pastora by a fountain side.
 Here Fannia, leering on her own good man,
 And there, a naked Leda with a Swan. 10
 Let then the Fair one beautifully cry,
 In Magdalen's loose hair and lifted eye,
 Or dress'd in smiles of sweet Cecilia shine,
 With simp'ring Angels, Palms, and Harps divine;
 Whether the Charmer sinner it, or saint it, 15
 If Folly grow romantic, I must paint it.
 Come then, the colours and the ground prepare!
 Dip in the Rainbow, trick her off in Air;
 Chuse a firm Cloud, before it fall, and in it 19
 Catch, e'er she change, the Cynthia of this minute.

NOTES.

VER. 7, 8, 10, &c. *Arcadia's Countess, — Pastora by a fountain — Leda with a swan — Magdalen — Cecilia*—] Attitudes in which several ladies affected to be drawn, and sometimes one lady in them all—The poet's politeness and complaisance to the sex is observable in

this instance amongst others, that, whereas in the *Characters of Men* he has sometimes made use of real names, in the *Characters of Women* always fictitious. P.

VER. 20. *Catch, e'er she change, the Cynthia of this minute.*] Alluding to the precept of Fresnoy,

formæ veneres captando fugaces.

Rufa, whose eye quick-glancing o'er the Park,
 Attracts each light gay meteor of a Spark,
 Agrees as ill with Rufa studying Locke,
 As Sappho's di'monds with her dirty smock;
 Or Sappho at her toilet's greazy task, 25
 With Sappho fragrant at an ev'ning Mask:
 So morning Insects that in muck begun,
 Shine, buzz, and fly-blow in the setting-sun.

How soft is Silia! fearful to offend;
 The Frail one's advocate, the Weak one's friend: 30
 To her Calista prov'd her conduct nice;
 And good Simplicius asks of her advice.
 Sudden, she storms! she raves! You tip the wink,
 But spare your censure; Silia does not drink.

NOTES.

VER. 21. Instances of contrarieties, given even from such Characters as are most strongly mark'd, and seemingly therefore most consistent: As, I. In the *Assisted*, y 21, &c. P.

VER. 23. *Agrees as ill with Rufa studying Locke,*] This thought is expressed with great humour in the following stanza:

*Tho' Artemesia talks, by fits,
 Of councils, classics, fathers, wits;
 Reads Malbranche, Boyle, and Locke;
 Yet in some things, methinks, she fails,
 'Twere well if she wou'd pare her nails,
 And wear a cleaner smock.*

VER. 29 and 37. II. Contrarieties in the *Soft-natured*, P.

All eyes may see from what the change arose, 35

All eyes may see—a Pimple on her nose.

Papillia, wedded to her am'rous spark,
Sighs for the shades—"How charming is a Park!"

A Park is purchas'd, but the Fair he sees

All bath'd in tears—"Oh odious, odious Trees!"

Ladies, like variegated Tulips, show; 41

'Tis to their Changes half their charms we owe;

Fine by defect, and delicately weak.

Their happy Spots the nice admirer take,

'Twas thus Calypso once each heart alarm'd, 45

Aw'd without Virtue, without Beauty charm'd;

Her Tongue bewitch'd as odly as her Eyes,

Less Wit than Mimic, more a Wit than wife;

Strange graces still, and stranger flights she had,

Was just not ugly, and was just not mad; 50

Yet ne'er so sure our passion to create,

As when she touch'd the brink of all we hate.

NOTES.

VER. 45. III. Contraries in the *Cunning* and *Artful*. P.

VER. 52. *As when she touch'd the brink of all we hate.*] Her charms consisted in the singular turn of her vivacity; consequently the

stronger she exerted this vivacity the more forceable must be her attraction. But the point, where it came to excess, would destroy all the delicacy, and expose all the coarseness of sensuality.

Narcissa's nature, tolerably mild,
 To make a wash, would hardly stew a child;
 Has ev'n been prov'd to grant a Lover's pray'r, 55
 And paid a Tradesman once to make him stare;
 Gave alms at Easter, in a Christian trim,
 And made a Widow happy, for a whim.
 Why then declare Good-nature is her scorn,
 When 'tis by that alone she can be born? 60
 Why pique all Mortals, yet affect a name;
 A fool to Pleasure, yet a slave to Fame:
 Now deep in Taylor and the Book of Martyrs,
 Now drinking citron with his Grace and Chartres:
 Now Conscience chills her, and now Passion burns;
 And Atheism and Religion take their turns; 66
 A very Heathen in the carnal part,
 Yet still a sad, good Christian at her heart.
 See Sin in State, majestically drunk;
 Proud as a Peerefs, prouder as a Punk; 70
 Chaste to her Husband, frank to all beside,
 A teeming Mistress, but a barren Bride.
 What then? let Blood and Body bear the fault,
 Her Head's untouch'd, that noble Seat of Thought:

NOTES.

VER. 53. IV. In the | VER. 69. V. In the *Lewd*
Whimsical. P. | and *Vicious.* P.

Such this day's doctrine—in another fit 75
 She sins with Poets thro' pure Love of Wit,
 What has not fir'd her bosom or her brain?
 Cæsar and Tall-boy, Charles and Charlema'ne.
 As Helluo, late Dictator of the Feast,
 The Nose of Hautgout, and the Tip of Taste, 80
 Critick'd your wine, and analyz'd your meat,
 Yet on plain Pudding deign'd at-home to eat;
 So Philomedé, lect'ring all mankind
 On the soft Passion, and the Taste refin'd,
 Th'Address, the Delicacy—stoops at once, 85
 And makes her hearty meal upon a Dunce.

Flavia's a Wit, has too much sense to pray;
 To toast our wants and wishes, is her way;
 Nor asks of God, but of her Stars, to give
 The mighty blessing, "while we live, to live." 90

VARIATIONS.

VER. 77. *What has not fir'd, &c.*] in the MS.

In whose mad brain the mixt ideas roll
 Of Tall-boy's breeches, and of Cæsar's soul.

NOTES.

VER. 87. VI. Contraries in the *Witty and Re-* | *God, but of her Stars,—*
fin'd. P. | *Death, that Opiate of the*
 | *soul !]* See Note on y 90.

VER. 89. *Nor asks of* | *of Ep. to Lord Cobham.*

Then all for Death, that Opiate of the soul!

Lucretia's dagger, Rosamonda's bowl.

Say, what can cause such impotence of mind?

A Spark too fickle, or a Spouse too kind.

Wife Wretch! with Pleasures too refin'd to please;

With too much Spirit to be e'er at ease; 96

With too much Quickness ever to be taught;

With too much Thinking to have common Thought:

You purchase Pain with all that Joy can give,

And die of nothing but a Rage to live. 100

Turn then from Wits; and look on Simo's Mate,

No Afs so meek, no Afs so obstinate.

Or her, that owns her Faults, but never mends,

Because she's honest, and the best of Friends.

Or her, whose life the Church and Scandal share,

For ever in a Passion, or a Pray'r. 106

Or her, who laughs at Hell, but (like her Grace)

Cries, "Ah! how charming, if there's no such place!"

Or who in sweet vicissitude appears

Of Mirth and Opium, Ratafie and Tears, 110

NOTES.

VER. 107. *Or her, who laughs at Hell, but (like her Grace)—Cries, "Ah! how charming if there's no* *such place!"*] i. e. Her who affects to laugh out of fashion, and strives to disbelieve out of fear.

EP. II. MORAL ESSAYS. 133

The daily Anodyne, and nightly Draught,
To kill those foes to Fair ones, Time and Thought.
Woman and Fool are two hard things to hit;
For true No-meaning puzzles more than Wit.

But what are these to great Atossa's mind? 115
Scarce once herself, by turns all Womankind!
Who, with herself, or others, from her birth
Finds all her life one warfare upon earth:
Shines, in exposing Knaves, and painting Fools,
Yet is, whate'er she hates and ridicules. 120

No Thought advances, but her Eddy Brain
Whisks it about, and down it goes again.
Full sixty years the World has been her Trade,
The wisest Fool much Time has ever made.
From loveless youth to unrespected age, 125
No Passion gratify'd except her Rage.
So much the Fury still out-ran the Wit,
The Pleasure mis'd her, and the Scandal hit.
Who breaks with her, provokes Revenge from Hell,
But he's a bolder man who dares be well. 130
Her ev'ry turn with Violence pursu'd,
Nor more a storm her Hate than Gratitude:

VARIATIONS.

After y 122. in the MS.

Oppress'd with wealth and wit, abundance sad!
One makes her poor, the other makes her mad.

134 MORAL ESSAYS. EP. II.

To that each Passion turns, or soon or late ;
 Love, if it makes her yield, must make her hate :
 Superiors ? death ? and Equals ? what a curse ! 135
 But an Inferior not dependant ? worse.
 Offend her, and she knows not to forgive ;
 Oblige her, and she'll hate you while you live :
 But die, and she'll adore you—Then the Bust
 And Temple rise—then fall again to dust. 140
 Last night, her Lord was all that's good and great ;
 A Knave this morning, and his Will a Cheat.
 Strange ! by the Means defeated of the Ends,
 By Spirit robb'd of Pow'r, by Warmth of Friends,
 By Wealth of Follow'rs ! without one distress 145
 Sick of herself thro' very selfishness !
 Atossa, curs'd with ev'ry granted pray'r,
 Childless with all her Children, wants an Heir.
 To Heirs unknown descends th'ungarded store,
 Or wanders, Heav'n-directed, to the Poor. 150

VARIATIONS.

After y 148. in the MS.

This Death decides, nor lets the blessing fall
 On any one she hates, but on them all.
 Curs'd chance ! this only could afflict her more,
 If any part should wander to the poor.

NOTES.

VER. 150. *Or wanders,* | luding and referring to the
Heav'n-directed, &c.] Al- | great principle of his Philo-

Pictures like these, dear Madam, to design,
 Asks no firm hand, and no unerring line ;
 Some wand'ring touches, some reflected light,
 Some flying stroke alone can hit 'em right :
 For how should equal Colours do the knack ? 155
 Chameleons who can paint in white and black ?

“ Yet Cloe sure was form'd without a spot”—
 Nature in her then err'd not, but forgot.
 “ With ev'ry pleasing, ev'ry prudent part,
 “ Say, what can Cloe want?”—She wants a Heart.
 She speaks, behaves, and acts just as she ought ; 161
 But never, never, reach'd one gen'rous Thought.
 Virtue she finds too painful an endeavour,
 Content to dwell in Decencies for ever.

NOTES.

sophy, which he never loses sight of, and which teaches, that Providence is incessantly turning the evils arising from the follies and vices of men to general good.

VER. 157. “ *Yet Cloe sure, &c.*] The purpose of the poet in this Character is important: It is to shew that the politic or prudent government of the passions is not enough to make a Character amiable, nor even

to secure it from being ridiculous, if the end of that government be not pursued, which is the free exercise of the social appetites after the selfish ones have been subdued ; for that if, tho' reason govern, the heart be never consulted, we interest ourselves as little in the fortune of such a Character, as in any of the foregoing, which passions or caprice drive up and down at random.

So very reasonable, so unmov'd, 165

As never yet to love, or to be lov'd.

She, while her Lover pants upon her breast,

Can mark the figures on an Indian chest ;

And when she sees her Friend in deep despair,

Observes how much a Chintz exceeds Mohair. 170

Forbid it Heav'n, a Favour or a Debt

She e'er should cancel—but she may forget.

Safe is your Secret still in Cloe's ear ;

But none of Cloe's shall you ever hear.

Of all her Dears she never slander'd one, 175

But cares not if a thousand are undone.

Would Cloe know if you're alive or dead ?

She bids her Footman put it in her head.

Cloe is prudent—Would you too be wise ?

Then never break your heart when Cloe dies. 180

One certain Portrait may (I grant) be seen,

Which Heav'n has varnish'd out, and made a *Queen* :

THE SAME FOR EVER ! and describ'd by all

With Truth and Goodness, as with Crown and Ball.

NOTES.

VER. 181. *One certain Portrait — the same for ever !—*] This is intirely ironical, and conveys under it this general moral truth, that there is, in life, no such thing as a perfect Character ; so that the satire falls not on any particular Character, but on the Character-maker only. See Note on y 78, 1 Dialogue 1738.

EP. II. MORAL ESSAYS. 137
 Poets heap Virtues, Painters Gems at will, 185
 And show their zeal, and hide their want of skill.
 'Tis well—but, Artists ! who can paint or write,
 To draw the Naked is your true delight.
 That Robe of Quality so struts and swells,
 None see what Parts of Nature it conceals : 190
 Th'exactest traits of Body or of Mind,
 We owe to models of an humble kind.
 If QUEENSBERRY to strip there's no compelling,
 'Tis from a Handmaid we must take a Helen.
 From Peer or Bishop 'tis no easy thing 195
 To draw the man who loves his God, or King :
 Alas ! I copy (or my draught would fail)
 From honest Mah'met, or plain Parson Hale.

VARIATIONS.

After y 198. in the MS.

Fain I'd in Fulvia spy the tender Wife ;
 I cannot prove it on her, for my life :
 And, for a noble pride, I blush no less,
 Instead of Berenice, to think on Bess.
 Thus while immortal Cibber only sings
 (As * and H**y preach) for queens and kings,
 The nymph, that ne'er read Milton's mighty line,
 May, if she love, and merit verse, have mine.

NOTES.

VER. 198. *Mah'met*, ser- | to be the son of a Turkish
 vant to the late King, said | Bassa, whom he took at the

But grant, in Public Men sometimes are shown,
 A Woman's seen in Private life alone: 200
 Our bolder Talents in full light display'd;
 Your Virtues open fairest in the shade.
 Bred to disguise, in Public 'tis you hide;
 There, none distinguish 'twixt your Shame or Pride,
 Weakness or Delicacy; all so nice, 205
 That each may seem a Virtue, or a Vice.

NOTES.

Siege of Buda, and constantly kept about his person. P.

Ibid. Dr Stephen Hales, not more estimable for his useful discoveries as a Natural Philosopher, than for his exemplary Life and Pastoral Charity as a Parish Priest.

VER. 199. *But grant, in Public, &c.*] In the former Editions, between this and the foregoing lines, a want of Connexion might be perceived, occasioned by the omission of certain *Examples* and *Illustrations* to the Maxims laid down; and tho' some of these have since been found, viz. the Characters of *Philomedé*, *Atossa*, *Cloe*, and some verses following, others are still want-

ing, nor can we answer that these are exactly inserted. P.

VER. 203. *Bred to disguise, in Public 'tis you hide;*] There is something particular in the turn of this assertion, as making their disguising in public the necessary effect of their being *bred to disguise*; but if we consider that female Education is an art of teaching not to *be*, but to *appear*, we shall have no reason to find fault with the exactness of the expression.

VER. 206. *That each may seem a Virtue, or a Vice.*] For Women are taught Virtue so artificially, and Vice so naturally, that, in the nice exercise of them, they may be easily mistaken for one another. SCRIB.

In Men, we various Ruling Passions find ;
 In Women, two almost divide the kind ;
 Those, only fix'd, they first or last obey,
 The Love of Pleasure, and the Love of Sway. 210

That, Nature gives ; and where the lesson taught
 Is but to please, can Pleasure seem a fault ?
 Experience, this ; by Man's oppression curst,
 They seek the second not to lose the first.

Men, some to Bus'ness, some to Pleasure take ;
 But ev'ry Woman is at heart a Rake : 216
 Men, some to Quiet, some to public Strife ;
 But ev'ry Lady would be Queen for life.

VARIATIONS.

VER. 207. in the first Edition,

In sev'ral Men we sev'ral passions find ;
 In Women, two almost divide the Kind.

NOTES.

VER. 207. The former part having shewn, that the *particular Characters* of Women are more various than those of Men, it is nevertheless observed, that the *general Characteristic* of the sex, as to the *ruling Passion*, is more uniform. P.

VER. 211. This is occasioned partly by their *Nature*, and partly their *Edu-*

cation, and in some degree by *Necessity*. P.

VER. 213. *Experience this, &c.*] The ironical apology continued : That the Second is, as it were, forced upon them by the tyranny and oppression of man, in order to secure the first.

VER. 216. *But ev'ry Woman is at heart a Rake :*] " Some men (says the Poet)

Yet mark the fate of a whole Sex of Queens!
 Pow'r all their end, but Beauty all the means: 220
 In Youth they conquer, with so wild a rage,
 As leaves them scarce a subject in their Age:
 For foreign glory, foreign joy, they roam;
 No thought of peace or happiness at home.
 But Wisdom's triumph is well-tim'd Retreat, 225
 As hard a science to the Fair as Great!
 Beauties like Tyrants, old and friendless grown,
 Yet hate repose, and dread to be alone,
 Worn out in public, weary ev'ry eye,
 Nor leave one sigh behind them when they die. 230
 Pleasures the sex, as children Birds, pursue,
 Still out of reach, yet never out of view;
 Sure, if they catch, to spoil the Toy at most,
 To covet flying, and regret when lost:
 At last, to follies Youth could scarce defend, 235
 It grows their Age's prudence to pretend;

NOTES.

"take to business, some to
 "pleasure, but every wo-
 "man would willingly make
 "pleasure her business:"
 which being the peculiar
 characteristic of a *Rake*, we
 must needs think that he in-
 cludes (in his use of the
 word here) no more of the

Rake's ill qualities than are
 implied in this definition,
 of *one who makes pleasure*
his business.

VER. 219. What are the
Aims and the *Fate* of this
 Sex?—I. As to *Power*. P.

VER. 231. — II. As to
Pleasure. P.

EP. II. MORAL ESSAYS. 141

Asham'd to own they gave delight before,
Reduc'd to feign it, when they give no more :
As Hags hold Sabbaths, less for joy than spight,
So these their merry, miserable Night ; 240
Still round and round the Ghosts of Beauty glide,
And haunt the places where their Honour dy'd.

See how the World its Veterans rewards !
A Youth of Frolicks, an old Age of Cards ;
Fair to no purpose, artful to no end, 245
Young without Lovers, old without a Friend ;
A Fop their Passion, but their Prize a Sot,
Alive, ridiculous, and dead, forgot !

Ah ! Friend ! to dazzle let the Vain design ; 249
To raise the Thought, and touch the Heart be thine !
That Charm shall grow, while what fatigues the
Ring,

Flaunts and goes down, an unregarded thing :
So when the Sun's broad beam has tir'd the sight,
All mild ascends the Moon's more sober light,
Serene in Virgin Modesty she shines, 255
And unobserv'd the glaring Orb declines.

Oh ! blest with Temper, whose unclouded ray
Can make to-morrow chearful as to-day ;

NOTES.

VER. 249. Advice for their true Interest. P.

She, who can love a Sister's charms, or hear
Sighs for a Daughter with unwounded ear ; 260

She, who ne'er answers till a Husband cools,
Or, if she rules him, never shows she rules ;

Charms by accepting, by submitting sways,

Yet has her humour most, when she obeys ;

Let Fops or Fortune fly which way they will ; 265

Disdains all loss of Tickets, or Codille ;

Spleen, Vapours, or Small-pox, above them all,

And Mistress of herself, tho' China fall.

And yet, believe me, good as well as ill,
Woman's at best a Contradiction still. 270

Heav'n, when it strives to polish all it can

Its last best work, but forms a softer Man ;

Picks from each sex, to make the Fav'rite blest,

Your love of Pleasure, our desire of Rest :

Blends, in exception to all gen'ral rules, 275

Your Taste of Follies, with our Scorn of Fools :

NOTES.

VER. 269. The Picture of an estimable Woman, with the best kind of contrarieties, created out of the poet's imagination ; who therefore feigned those circumstances of a <i>Husband</i>, a <i>Daughter</i>, and love for a	<i>Sister</i>, to prevent her being mistaken for any of his acquaintance. And having thus made his <i>Woman</i>, he did, as the ancient poets were wont, when they had made their <i>Muse</i>, invoke, and address his poem to, her.
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Reserve with Frankness, Art with Truth ally'd,
 Courage with Softness, Modesty with Pride;
 Fix'd Principles, with Fancy ever new;
 Shakes all together, and produces—You. 280

Be this a Woman's Fame: with this unblest,
 Toasts live a scorn, and Queens may die a jest.
 This Phœbus promis'd (I forget the year)
 When those blue eyes first open'd on the sphere;
 Ascendant Phœbus watch'd that hour with care,
 Averted half your Parents' simple Pray'r; 286

NOTES.

VER. 285. &c. *Ascendant Phœbus watch'd that hour with care, Averted half your Parents' simple Pray'r; And gave you Beauty, but deny'd the Pelf.*] The poet concludes his Epistle with a fine *Moral*, that deserves the serious attention of the public: It is this, that all the extravagances of these *vicious* Characters here described, are much inflamed by a wrong Education, hinted at in *Æ* 203; and that even the *best* are rather secured by a *good natural* than by the prudence and providence of parents; which observation is conveyed un-

der the sublime classical machinery of Phœbus in the ascendant, watching the natal hour of his favourite, and averting the ill effects of her parents mistaken fondness: For Phœbus, as the god of Wit, confers Genius; and, as one of the astronomical influences, defeats the adventitious bias of education.

In conclusion, the great Moral from both these Epistles together is, that the two rarest things in all Nature are a DISINTERESTED MAN, and a REASONABLE WOMAN.

And gave you Beauty, but deny'd the Pelf
That buys your sex a Tyrant o'er itself.
The gen'rous God, who Wit and Gold refines,
And ripens Spirits as he ripens Mines, 290
Kept Dross for Duchesses, the world shall know it,
To you gave Sense, Good-humour, and a Poet.





N. Blakey inv. & del.

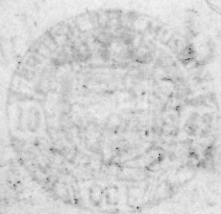
G. Scottin sculp.

Who sees pale Mammon pine amidst his Store,
 Sees but a backward Steward for the Poor;—
 This Year a Reservoir, to keep and spare;—
 The next, a Fountain, spouting thro his Fleir.

Ep: on Riches.

MORAL ESSAYS

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MORAL ESSAYS.

EPISTLE III.

TO

Allen Lord Bathurst.

ARGUMENT.

Of the Use of RICHES.

THAT it is known to few, most falling into one of the extremes, Avarice or Profusion, § 1, &c. The Point discuss'd, whether the invention of Money has been more commodious, or pernicious to Mankind, § 21 to 77. That Riches, either to the Avaricious or the Prodigal, cannot afford Happiness, scarcely Necessaries, § 89 to 160. That Avarice is an absolute Frenzy, without an End or Purpose, § 113, &c. 152. Conjectures about the Motives of Avaricious men, § 121 to 153. That the conduct of men, with respect to Riches, can only be accounted for by the ORDER OF PROVIDENCE, which works the general Good out

of Extremes, and brings all to it's great End by perpetual Revolutions, § 161 to 178. How a Miser acts upon Principles which appear to him reasonable, § 179. How a Prodigal does the same, § 199. The due Medium, and true use of Riches, § 219. The Man of Rofs, § 250. The fate of the Profuse and the Covetous, in two examples; both miserable in Life and in Death, § 300, &c. The Story of Sir Balaam, § 339 to the end.



E P I S T L E III.

P. **W**HO shall decide, when Doctors disagree,
And soundest Casuists doubt, like you
and me?

EPISTLE III.] This Epistle was written after a violent outcry against our Author, on a supposition that he had ridiculed a worthy nobleman merely for his wrong taste. He justified himself upon that article, in a letter to the Earl of Burlington; at the end of which are these words: "I have learnt that there are some who would rather be wicked than ridiculous; and therefore it may be safer to attack vices than follies. I will therefore leave my betters in the quiet possession of their idols, their groves, and their high places; and change my subject from their pride to their meanness, from their vanities to their miseries; and as the only certain way to avoid misconstructions, to lessen offence, and not to multiply ill-natured applications, I may probaby, in my next, make use of real names instead of fictitious ones." P.

VER. 1. *Who shall decide, &c.*] The address of the *Introduction* (from *ŷ* 1 to 21) is remarkable: The poet represents himself and the noble Lord his friend, as in a conversation, philosophising on the *final cause* of *Riches*; and it proceeds by way of dialogue, which most writers use to hide want of method; our Author only to soften and enliven the dryness and severity of it.

You (says the poet)

— *bold the word from Jove to Momus gi'v'n,
But I, who think more highly of our kind, &c.
Opine that Nature, &c.*

You hold the word, from Jove to Momus giv'n,
 That Man was made the standing jest of Heav'n;
 And Gold but sent to keep the fools in play, 5
 For some to heap, and some to throw away.

As much as to say, "You, my Lord, hold the subject we
 "are upon as fit only for *Satire*; I, on the contrary,
 "esteem it a case of Philosophy and profound *Ethics*:
 "But as we both agree in the main *Principle*, that *Riches*
 "were not given for the reward of *Virtue*, but for very
 "different purposes (See *Essay on Man*, Ep. iv.) let us
 "compromise the matter, and consider the subject joint-
 "ly, both under your idea and mine, *i. e.* *Satirically*
 "and *Philosophically*."—And this, in fact, we shall find
 to be the true character of this poem, which is a *Species*
 peculiar to itself, and partaking equally of the nature of
 his *Ethic Epistles* and his *Satires*, as the best pieces of
Lucian arose from a combination of the Dialogues of
Plato, and the Scenes of *Aristophanes*. This it will be
 necessary to carry with us, if we would see either the *Wit*
 or the *Reasoning* of this Epistle in their true light.

NOTES.

VER. 3. *Momus giv'n*] Amongst the earliest abuses of reason, one of the first was to cavil at the ways of Providence. But as, in those times, every Vice as well as Virtue, had its Patron-God, MOMUS came to be at the head of the old *Free-thinkers*. Him, the Mythologists very ingeniously made

the Son of *Sleep* and *Night*, and so, consequently, half-brother to *Dulness*. But having been much employed, in after ages, by the *Greek* Satirists, he came, at last, to pass for a *Wit*; and under this idea, he is to be considered in the place before us.

But I, who think more highly of our kind,
 (And surely, Heav'n and I are of a mind)
 Opine, that Nature, as in duty bound,
 Deep hid the shining mischief under ground : 10
 But when by Man's audacious labour won,
 Flam'd forth this rival to, its Sire, the Sun,
 Then careful Heav'n supply'd two sorts of Men,
 To squander These, and Those to hide agen.

Like Doctors thus, when much dispute has past,
 We find our tenets just the same at last. 16
 Both fairly owning, Riches, in effect,
 No grace of Heav'n or token of th'Elect;
 Giv'n to the Fool, the Mad, the Vain, the Evil,
 To Ward, to Waters, Chartres, and the Devil. 20

NOTES.

VER. 9. *Opine,*] A term sacred to controversy and high debate.

Ibid. — *that Nature, as in duty bound,*] This, though ludicrously, is yet exactly, expressed; to shew, that, by *Nature*, the poet meant, not the God of nature, but the instrument and substitute of his providence.

VER. 12. *Flam'd forth this rival to, its Sire, the*

Sun,] The rival of its Sire in its brightness, and in its power of drawing mankind into error and delusion; the two first idols of the world, *natural* and *moral*, being the *Sun* and *Gold*.

VER. 20 JOHN WARD of Hackney, Esq; Member of Parliament, being prosecuted by the Ducheſs of Buckingham, and convicted of Forgery, was first expelled

B. What Nature wants, commodious Gold bestows,
'Tis thus we eat the bread another sows.

NOTES.

the House, and then stood in the Pillory on the 17th of March 1727. He was suspected of joining in a conveyance with Sir John Blunt, to secrete fifty thousand pounds of that Director's Estate, forfeited to the South-Sea company by Act of Parliament. The Company recovered the fifty thousand pounds against Ward; but he set up prior conveyances of his real estate to his brother and son, and conceal'd all his personal, which was computed to be one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. These conveyances being also set aside by a bill in Chancery, Ward was imprisoned, and hazarded the forfeiture of his life, by not giving in his effects till the last day, which was that of his examination. During his confinement, his amusement was to give poison to dogs and cats, and see them expire by slower or quicker tor-

ments. To sum up the *worth* of this gentleman, at the several æra's of his life, At his standing in the Pillory he was *worth above two hundred thousand pounds*; at his commitment to Prison, he was *worth one hundred and fifty thousand*; but has been since so far diminished in his reputation, as to be thought a *worse man by fifty or sixty thousand*. P.

FR. CHARTRES, a man infamous for all manner of vices. When he was an ensign in the army, he was drumm'd out of the regiment for a cheat; he was next banish'd Brussels, and drumm'd out of Ghent on the same account. After a hundred tricks at the gaming-tables, he took to lending of money at exorbitant interest and on great penalties, accumulating premium, interest, and capital into a new capital, and seizing to a minute when the payments became due; in

P. But how unequal it bestows, observe,

'Tis thus we riot, while, who sow it, starve:

What Nature wants (a phrase I much distrust)

Extends to Luxury, extends to Lust: 26

Useful, I grant, it serves what life requires,

But dreadful too, the dark Assassin hires:

NOTES.

a word, by a constant attention to the vices, wants, and follies of mankind, he acquired an immense fortune. His house was a perpetual bawdy-house. He was twice condemn'd for rapes, and pardoned; but the last time not without imprisonment in Newgate, and large confiscations. He died in

Scotland in 1731, aged 62. The populace at his funeral rais'd a great riot, almost tore the body out of the coffin, and cast dead dogs, &c. into the grave along with it. The following Epitaph contains his character, very justly drawn by Dr Arbuthnot:

HERE continueth to rot
The Body of FRANCIS CHARTRES,
Who, with an INFLEXIBLE CONSTANCY,
and INIMITABLE UNIFORMITY of Life,
PERSISTED,
In spite of AGE and INFIRMITIES,
In the Practice of EVERY HUMAN VICE;
Excepting PRODIGALITY and HYPOCRISY:
His insatiable AVARICE exempted him from the first,
His matchless IMPUDENCE from the second.

B. Trade it may help, Society extend.

P. But lures the Pyrate, and corrupts the Friend. 30

NOTES.

Nor was he more singular
in the undeviating *Pravity* of his *Manners*,
Than successful

in *Accumulating* WEALTH,
For, without TRADE or PROFESSION,
Without TRUST of PUBLIC MONEY,
And without BRIBE-WORTHY Service,
He acquired, or more properly created,
A MINISTERIAL ESTATE.

He was the only Person of his Time,
Who could CHEAT without the Mask of HONESTY,
Retain his Primeval MEANNESS
When possess'd of TEN THOUSAND a Year,
And having daily deserved the GIBBET for what he *did*,
Was at last condemn'd to it for what he *could* not do.

Oh Indignant Reader!

Think not his Life useless to Mankind
PROVIDENCE conniv'd at his execrable Designs,
To give to After-ages

A conspicuous PROOF and EXAMPLE,
Of how small Estimation is EXORBITANT WEALTH
in the Sight of G O D,
By his bestowing it on the most UNWORTHY of ALL
MORTALS.

This Gentleman was worth seven thousand pounds a year estate in Land, and about	one hundred thousand in Money. P.
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B. It raises Armies in a Nation's aid.

P. But bribes a Senate, and the Land's betray'd.

In vain may Heroes fight, and Patriots rave ;

If secret Gold sap on from knave to knave.

Once, we confess, beneath the Patriot's cloak, 35

From the crack'd bag the dropping Guinea spoke,

NOTES.

MR WATERS, the third of these worthies, was a man no way resembling the former in his military, but extremely so in his civil capacity ; his great fortune having been rais'd by the like diligent attendance on the necessities of others. But this gentleman's history must be deferred till his death, when his *worth* may be known more certainly. P.

VER. 20.—*Chartres and the Devil.*] Alluding to the vulgar opinion, that all mines of metal and subterraneous treasures are in the guard of the Devil : which seems to have taken its rise from the pagan fable of Plutus the God of Riches.

VER. 33.—*and Patriots rave ;*] The character of modern Patriots was, in the

opinion of our poet, very equivocal ; as the name was undistinguishingly bestowed on every one in opposition to the court ; of whose virtues he gives a hint in v 139. of this Epistle. Agreeably to these sentiments, his predicate of them here is as equivocal,

In vain—may Patriots rave ;

which they may do either in earnest or in jest ; and is a conduct, in the opinion of *Sempronius* in the Play, best fitted to hide their game.

VER 35. — *beneath the Patriot's cloak,*] This is a true story, which happened in the reign of William III. to an unsuspected old Patriot, who coming out at the back-door from having been closeted by the King,

And gingling down the back-stairs, told the crew,
 "Old Cato is as great a Rogue as you."
 Blest paper-credit! last and best supply!
 That lends Corruption lighter wings to fly! 40
 Gold imp'd by thee, can compass hardest things,
 Can pocket States, can fetch or carry Kings;
 A single leaf shall waft an Army o'er,
 Or ship off Senates to a distant shore;
 A leaf, like Sibyl's, scatter to and fro 45
 Our fates and fortunes, as the winds shall blow:
 Pregnant with thousands flits the Scrap unseen,
 And silent sells a King, or buys a Queen.

NOTES.

where he had received a large bag of Guineas, the bursting of the bag discovered his business there. P.

VER. 42.—*fetch or carry Kings;*] In our author's time, many Princes had been sent about the world, and great changes of Kings projected in Europe. The partition-treaty had disposed of Spain; France had set up a King for England, who was sent to Scotland, and back again; King Stanislaus was

sent to Poland, and back again; the Duke of Anjou was sent to Spain, and Don Carlos to Italy. P.

VER. 44. *Or ship off Senates to some distant Shore;*] Alludes to several Ministers, Counsellors, and Patriots banished in our times to Siberia, and to that MORE GLO-RIOUS FATE of the PARLIAMENT of PARIS, banished to Pontoise in the year 1720. P.

Oh! that such bulky Bribes as all might see,
 Still, as of old, incumber'd Villainy! 50
 Could France or Rome divert our brave designs,
 With all their brandies or with all their wines?
 What could they more than Knights and Squires
 confound,
 Or water all the Quorum ten miles round?
 A Statesman's slumbers how this speech would spoil!
 "Sir, Spain has sent a thousand jars of oil; 56
 "Huge bales of British cloth blockade the door;
 "A hundred oxen at your levee roar."

Poor Avarice one torment more would find;
 Nor could Profusion squander all in kind. 60
 Aftride his cheefe Sir Morgan might we meet;
 And Worldly crying coals from street to street,
 Whom with a wig so wild, and mien so maz'd,
 Pity mistakes for some poor tradesman craz'd.

VARIATIONS.

After y 50, in the MS.

To break a trust were Peter brib'd with wine,
 Peter! 'twould pose as wise a head as thine.

NOTES.

VER. 63. Some Misers | of the coal-mines, had en-
 of great wealth, proprietors | tered at this time into an

Had Colepepper's whole wealth been hops and hogs,
Could he himself have sent it to the dogs? 66

His Grace will game: to White's a Bull be led,
With spurning heels and with a butting head.

To White's be carry'd, as to ancient games,
Fair Courfers, Vases, and alluring Dames. 70

Shall then Uxorio, if the stakes he sweep,
Bear home six Whores, and make his Lady weep?

Or soft Adonis, so perfum'd and fine,
Drive to St James's a whole herd of swine?

Oh filthy check on all industrious skill, 75

To spoil the nation's last great trade, Quadrille!

Since then, my Lord, on such a World we fall,

What say you? B. Say? Why take it, Gold and all.

VARIATIONS.

VER. 77. *Since then, &c.*] In the former Edd.

Well then, since with the world we stand or fall,
Come take it as we find it, Gold and all.

NOTES.

association to keep up coals
to an extravagant price,
whereby the poor were re-
duced almost to starve, till
one of them taking the ad-
vantage of underselling the

rest, defeated the design.
One of these Misers was
worth ten thousand, another
seven thousand a year. P.

VER. 65. *Colepepper*] Sir
WILLIAM COLEPEPPER,

EP. III. MORAL ESSAYS. 157

P. What Riches give us let us then enquire :
Meat, Fire, and Cloaths. B. What more? P. Meat,
Cloaths, and Fire. 80

Is this too little? would you more than live?

Alas! 'tis more than Turner finds they give.

Alas! 'tis more than (all his Visions past)

Unhappy Wharton, waking, found at last!

NOTES.

Bart. a person of an antient family, and ample fortune, without one other quality of a Gentleman, who, after ruining himself at the Gaming-table, past the rest of his days in sitting there to see the ruin of others; preferring to subsist upon borrowing and begging, rather than to enter into any reputable method of life, and refusing a post in the army which was offered him. P.

VER. 82. *Turner*] One, who, being possessed of three hundred thousand pounds, laid down his Coach, because Interest was reduced from five to four *per cent.* and then put seventy thou-

sand into the Charitable Corporation for better interest; which sum having lost, he took it so much to heart, that he kept his chamber ever after. It is thought he would not have outlived it, but that he was heir to another considerable estate, which he daily expected, and that by this course of life he saved both cloaths and all other expences. P.

VER. 84. *Unhappy Wharton,*] A Nobleman of great qualities, but as unfortunate in the application of them, as if they had been vices and follies. See his Character in the first Epistle. P.

158 MORAL ESSAYS. EP. III.

What can they give? to dying Hopkins, Heirs; 85
 To Chartres, Vigour; Japhet, Nose and Ears?
 Can they, in gems bid pallid Hippias glow;
 In Fulvia's buckle ease the throbs below;
 Or heal, old Narfes, thy obscener ail,
 With all th'embroid'ry plaister'd at thy tail? 90
 They might (were Harpax not too wise to spend)
 Give Harpax self the blessing of a Friend;

NOTES.

VER. 85. *Hopkins.*] A Citizen, whose rapacity obtained him the name of *Vultur Hopkins*. He lived worthless, but died *worth three hundred thousand pounds*, which he would give to no person living, but left it so as not to be inherited till after the second generation. His counsel representing to him how many years it must be, before this could take effect, and that his money could only lie at interest all that time, he expressed great joy thereat, and said, "They would then be as long in spending, as he had been in getting it." But the Chancery afterwards set aside the will, and gave

it to the heir at law. P.

VER. 86. *Japhet, Nose and Ears?*] JAPHET CROOK, alias Sir Peter Stranger, was punished with the loss of those parts, for having forged a conveyance of an Estate to himself, upon which he took up several thousand pounds. He was at the same time sued in Chancery for having fraudulently obtained a Will, by which he possessed another considerable Estate, in wrong of the brother of the deceased. By these means he was *worth* a great sum, which (in reward for the small loss of his ears) he enjoyed in prison till his death, and quietly left to his executor. P.

Or find some Doctor that would save the life
 Of wretched Shylock, spite of Shylock's Wife :
 But thousands die, without or this or that, 95
 Die, and endow a College, or a Cat.
 To some, indeed, Heav'n grants the happier fate,
 T'enrich a Bastard, or a Son they hate.

Perhaps you think the Poor might have their part?
 Bond damns the Poor, and hates them from his heart:

NOTES.

VER. 96. *Die, and endow a College, or a Cat.*] A famous Duchess of R. in her last Will left considerable legacies and annuities to her Cats. P.

VER. 100. *Bond damns the Poor, &c.*] This epistle was written in the year 1730, when a corporation was established to lend money to the poor upon pledges, by the name of the *Charitable Corporation*; but the whole was turned only to an iniquitous method of enriching particular people, to the ruin of such numbers, that it became a parliamentary concern to endeavour the relief of those unhappy suf-

ferers, and three of the managers, who were members of the house, were expelled. By the report of the Committee, appointed to enquire into that iniquitous affair, it appears, that when it was objected to the intended removal of the office, that the Poor, for whose use it was erected, would be hurt by it, Bond, one of the Directors, replied, *Damn the Poor*. That "God hates the poor," and, "That every man in want is knave or fool," &c. were the genuine apothegms of some of the persons here mentioned. P.

The grave Sir Gilbert holds it for a rule, 101

That "ev'ry man in want is knave or fool:

"God cannot love (says Blunt, with tearless eyes)

"The wretch he starves"—and piously denies:

But the good Bishop, with a meeker air, 105

Admits, and leaves them, Providence's care.

Yet, to be just to these poor men of pelf,

Each does but hate his Neighbour as himself:

Damn'd to the Mines, an equal fate betides

The Slave that digs it, and the Slave that hides. 110

B. Who suffer thus, mere Charity should own,

Must act on Motives pow'rful, tho' unknown.

P. Some War, some Plague, or Famine they foresee,
Some Revelation hid from you and me.

Why Shylock wants a meal, the cause is found, 115

He thinks a Loaf will rise to fifty pound.

What made Directors cheat in South-sea year?

To live on Ven'son when it sold so dear.

Ask you why Phryne the whole Auction buys?

Phryne foresees a general Excise. 120

NOTES.

VER. 118. *To live on Ven'son*] In the extravagance and luxury of the South-sea year, the price of a haunch of Venison was from three to five pounds. P.

VER. 120.—*general Excise.*] Many people about the year 1733, had a con-

Why she and Sappho raise that monstrous sum?
Alas! they fear a man will cost a plum.

Wife Peter sees the World's respect for Gold,
And therefore hopes this Nation may be sold:
Glorious Ambition! Peter, swell thy store, 125
And be what Rome's great Didius was before.

The Crown of Poland, venal twice an age,
To just three millions stinted modest Gage.

NOTES.

ceit that such a thing was intended, of which it is not improbable this lady might have some intimation. P.

VER. 123. *Wife Peter*] PETER WALTER, a person not only eminent in the wisdom of his profession, as a dextrous attorney, but allowed to be a good, if not a safe, conveyancer; extremely respected by the Nobility of this land, tho' free from all manner of luxury and ostentation: his Wealth was never seen, and his bounty never heard of, except to his own son, for whom he procured an employment of considerable profit, of which he gave him as much as was necessa-

ry. Therefore the taxing this gentleman with any Ambition, is certainly a great wrong to him. P.

VER. 126. *Rome's great Didius*] A Roman Lawyer, so rich as to purchase the Empire, when it was set to sale upon the death of Pertinax. P.

VER. 127. *The Crown of Poland, &c.*] The two persons here mentioned were of Quality, each of whom in the Mississippi despis'd to realize above *three hundred thousand pounds*; the Gentleman with a view to the purchase of the Crown of Poland, the Lady on a vision of the like royal nature. They since retired in-

But nobler scenes Maria's dreams unfold,
 Hereditary Realms, and worlds of Gold. 130
 Congenial souls ! whose life one Av'rice joins,
 And one fates buries in th'Asturian Mines.

Much injur'd Blunt ! why bears he Britain's hate ?
 A wizard told him in these words our fate :
 " At length Corruption, like a gen'ral flood, 135
 " (So long by watchful Ministers withstood)
 " Shall deluge all ; and Av'rice creeping on,
 " Spread like a low-born mist, and blot the Sun ;

NOTES.

to Spain, where they are still in search of gold in the mines of the Asturias. P.

VER. 133. *Much injur'd Blunt !*] Sir JOHN BLUNT, originally a scrivener, was one of the first projectors of the South-sea company, and afterwards one of the directors and chief managers of the famous scheme in 1720. He was also one of those who suffer'd most severely by the bill of pains and penalties on the said directors. He was a Dissenter of a most religious deportment, and profess'd to be a great believer. Whether he did

really credit the prophecy here mentioned is not certain, but it was constantly in this very style he declaimed against the corruption and luxury of the age, the partiality of Parliaments, and the misery of party-spirit. He was particularly eloquent against *Avarice* in great and noble persons, of which he had indeed lived to see many miserable examples. He died in the year 1732. P.

VER. 137. — *Av'rice creeping on, Spread like a low born mist, and blot the Sun ;*] The similitude is ex-

EP. III. MORAL ESSAYS. 163

" Statesman and Patriot ply alike the stocks,
" Peerefs and Butler fhare alike the Box, 140
" And Judges jobb, and Bifhops bite the town,
" And mighty Dukes pack cards for half a crown.
" See Britain funk in lucre's fordid charms,
" And France reveng'd of ANNE's and EDWARD's
" arms?"

'Twas no Court-badge, great Scriv'ner! fir'd thy
brain, 145

Nor lordly Luxury, nor City Gain :
No, 'twas thy righteous end, afham'd to fee
Senates degen'rate, Patriots difagree,
And nobly wifhing Party-rage to ceafe,
To buy both fides, and give thy Country peace. 150

" All this is madnefs," cries a fober fage :
But who, my friend, has reason in his rage ?

NOTES.

tremely appofite, implying that this vice is of bafe and mean original ; hatch- ed and nurfed up amongst Scriveners, Stock-jobbers, and Citts ; and unknown, 'till of late, to the Nobles of this land : But now, in the fulnefs of time, ſhe rears	her head, and afpires to co- ver the moſt illuſtrious ſta- tions in her dark and peſti- lential ſhade. The Sun, and other luminaries of Heaven, ſignifying, in the high eaſt- ern ſtyle, the Grandees and Nobles of the earth.
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"The ruling Passion, be it what it will,

"The ruling Passion conquers Reason still."

Less mad the wildest whimsey we can frame, 155

Than ev'n that Passion, if it has no Aim;

For tho' such motives Folly you may call,

The Folly's greater to have none at all.

Hear then the truth: "'Tis Heav'n each Passion

"sends,

"And diff'rent men directs to diff'rent ends. 160

"Extremes in Nature equal good produce,

"Extremes in Man concur to gen'ral use.

Ask we what makes one keep, and one bestow?

That Pow'r who bids the Ocean ebb and flow,

Bids seed-time, harvest, equal course maintain, 165

Thro' reconcil'd extremes of drought and rain,

Builds Life on Death, on Change Duration founds,

And gives th'eternal wheels to know their rounds.

Riches, like insects, when conceal'd they lie,

Wait but for wings, and in their season fly. 170

Who sees pale Mammon pine amidst his store,

Sees but a backward steward for the Poor;

This year a Reservoir, to keep and spare;

The next, a Fountain, spouting thro' his Heir,

In lavish streams to quench a Country's thirst, 175

And men and dogs shall drink him till they burst.

EP. III. MORAL ESSAYS. 165

Old Cotta sham'd his fortune and his birth,
 Yet was not Cotta void of wit or worth :
 What tho' (the use of barb'rous spits forgot)
 His kitchen vy'd in coolness with his grot ? 180
 His court with nettles, moats with cresses stor'd,
 With soups unbought and sallads blest'd his board ?
 If Cotta liv'd on pulse, it was no more
 Than Bramins, Saints, and Sages did before ;
 To cram the Rich was prodigal expence, 185
 And who would take the Poor from Providence ?
 Like some lone Chartreux stands the good old Hall,
 Silence without, and Fasts within the wall ;
 No rafter'd roofs with dance and tabor sound,
 No noontide-bell invites the country round : 190
 Tenants with sighs the smoakless tow'rs survey,
 And turn th'unwilling steeds another way :
 Benighted wanderers, the forest o'er,
 Curse the sav'd candle, and unop'ning door ;
 While the gaunt mastiff growling at the gate, 195
 Affrights the beggar whom he longs to eat.
 Not so his Son, he mark'd this oversight,
 And then mistook reverse of wrong for right.

IMITATIONS.

VER. 182. *With soups unbought,*]

— dapibus menfas onerabat inemptis. VIRG. P.

(For what to shun will no great knowledge need,
 But what to follow, is a task indeed.) 200
 Yet sure, of qualities deserving praise,
 More go to ruin Fortunes, than to raise.
 What slaughter'd hecatombs, what floods of wine,
 Fill the capacious Squire, and deep Divine !
 Yet no mean motive this profusion draws, 205
 His oxen perish in his country's cause ;
 'Tis GEORGE and LIBERTY that crowns the cup
 And Zeal for that great House which eats him up.
 The Woods recede around the naked seat,
 The Sylvans groan—no matter—for the Fleet : 210
 Next goes his Wool—to clothe our valiant bands,
 Last, for his Country's love, he sells his Lands.

NOTES.

VER. 199. (*For what to shun will no great knowledge need, But what to follow, is a task indeed.*)] The poet is here speaking only of the knowledge gained by *experience*. Now there are so many miserable examples of ill conduct, that no one, with his eyes open, can be at a loss to know *what to shun* ; but, *very* inviting ex-

amples of a good conduct are extremely rare: Besides, the mischiefs of folly are eminent and obvious ; but the fruits of prudence, remote and retired from common observation ; and if seen at all, yet their dependence on their causes not being direct and immediate, they are not easily understood.

EP. III. MORAL ESSAYS. 167

To town he comes, completes the nation's hope,
And heads the bold Train-bands, and burns a Pope.
And shall not Britain now reward his toils, 215
Britain, that pays her Patriots with her Spoils?
In vain at Court the Bankrupt pleads his cause,
His thankless Country leaves him to her Laws.

The Sense to value Riches, with the Art
T'enjoy them, and the Virtue to impart, 220

VARIATIONS.

After v 218. in the MS.

Where one lean herring furnish'd Cotta's board,
And nettles grew, fit porridge for their Lord;
Where mad good-nature, bounty misapply'd,
In lavish Curio blaz'd awhile and dy'd;
There Providence once more shall shift the scene,
And shewing H—y, teach the golden mean.

NOTES.

VER. 219, 220. <i>The Sense to value Riches, with the Art, T'enjoy them, and the Virtue to impart.</i> <i>The Sense to value Riches</i>, is not, in the City-meaning, <i>the Sense in valuing them</i>: For as <i>Riches</i> may be enjoyed without <i>Art</i>, and imparted with <i>Virtue</i>, so they may be	<i>valued</i> without <i>Sense</i>. That man therefore only shews he has the <i>sense to value Riches</i>, who keeps what he has acquired, in order to enjoy one part of it innocently and elegantly, in such measure and degree as his station may justify, which the poet calls the <i>Art of enjoy-</i>
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Not meanly, nor ambitiously pursu'd,
 Not sunk by sloth, nor rais'd by servitude;
 To balance Fortune by a just expence,
 Join with Oeconomy, Magnificence; 224
 With Splendor, Charity; with Plenty, Health;
 Oh teach us, BATHURST! yet unspoil'd by wealth!
 That secret rare, between th'extremes to move
 Of mad Good-nature, and of mean Self-love.

B. To Worth or Want well-weigh'd, be Bounty
 giv'n,
 And ease, or emulate, the care of Heav'n; 230
 (Whose measure full o'erflows on human race)
 Mend Fortune's fault, and justify her grace.

VARIATIONS.

After y 226. in the MS.

That secret rare, with affluence hardly join'd,
 Which W—n lost, yet B—y ne'er could find;
 Still miss'd by Vice, and scarce by Virtue hit,
 By G—'s goodness, or by S—'s wit.

NOTES.

ing; and to impart the
 remainder amongst objects
 of worth, or want well
 weigh'd; which is, indeed,
 the Virtue of imparting.

VER. 231, 232. (*Whose
 measure full o'erflows on
 human race, Mend Fortune's
 fault, and justify her grace.*)
 i. e. Such of the Rich

EP. III. MORAL ESSAYS. 169

Wealth in the gross is death, but life diffus'd ;
 As Poison heals, in just proportion us'd :
 In heaps, like Ambergrise, a stink it lies, 235
 But well-dispers'd, is Incense to the Skies.

P. Who starves by Nobles, or with Nobles eats ?
 The Wretch that trusts them, and the Rogue that
 cheats.

Is there a Lord, who knows a chearful noon
 Without a Fiddler, flatt'rer, or Buffoon ? 240
 Whose table, Wit, or modest Merit share,
 Un-elbow'd by a Gamester, Pimp, or Play'r ?
 Who copies Your's or OXFORD's better part,
 To ease th'oppress'd, and raise the sinking heart ?
 Where-e'er he shines, oh Fortune, gild the scene
 And Angels guard him in the golden Mean ! 246
 There, English Bounty yet a-while may stand,
 And Honour linger e'er it leaves the land.

NOTES.

whose full measure overflows on human race, repair the wrongs of Fortune done to the indigent ; and, at the same time, justify the favours she had bestowed upon themselves.

VER. 243. OXFORD's better part,] Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford. The son of

Robert, created Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer by Queen Anne. This nobleman died regretted by all men of letters, great numbers of whom had experienced his benefits. He left behind him one of the most noble Libraries in Europe.
 P.

But all our praises why should Lords engross?
 Rise, honest Muse! and sing the MAN of ROSS: 250
 Pleas'd Vaga echoes thro' her winding bounds,
 And rapid Severn hoarse applause resounds.
 Who hung with woods yon mountain's sultry brow?
 From the dry rock who bade the waters flow?
 Not to the skies in useless columns tost, 255
 Or in proud falls magnificently lost,
 But clear and artless, pouring thro' the plain
 Health to the sick, and solace to the swain.
 Whose Cause-way parts the vale with shady rows?
 Whose Seats the weary Traveller repose? 260
 Who taught that heav'n-directed spire to rise?
 "The MAN of ROSS," each lisping babe replies.

VARIATIONS.

After γ 250. in the MS.

Trace humble worth beyond Sabrina's shore,
 Who sings not him, oh may he sing no more!

NOTES.

VER. 250. *The MAN of* | way of eminence, and part-
 ROSS:] The person here ce- | ly by being buried without
 lebrated, who with a small | so much as an inscription)
 Estate actually performed all | was called Mr John Kyrle.
 these good works, and whose | He died in the year 1724,
 true name was almost lost, | aged 90, and lies interred
 (partly by the title of the | in the chancel of the church
Man of Ross given him by | of Ross in Herefordshire. P.

Behold the Market-place with poor o'erspread !
 The MAN of ROSS divides the weekly bread :
 He feeds yon Alms-house, neat, but void of state,
 Where Age and Want sit smiling at the gate : 266
 Him portion'd maids, apprentic'd orphans blest,
 The young who labour, and the old who rest.
 Is any sick ? the MAN of ROSS relieves,
 Prescribes, attends, the med'cine makes, and gives.
 Is there a variance ; enter but his door, 271
 Balk'd are the Courts, and contest is no more.
 Despairing Quacks with curses fled the place,
 And vile Attorneys, now an useles race.

B. Thrice happy man ! enabled to pursue 275
 What all so wish, but want the pow'r to do !
 Oh say, what fums that gen'rous hand supply ?
 What mines, to swell that boundless charity ?

P. Of Debts, and Taxes, Wife and Children clear,
 This man posselt—five hundred pounds a year. 280
 Blush, Grandeur, blush ! proud Courts, withdraw
 your blaze !
 Ye little Stars ! hide your diminish'd rays.

NOTES.

VER. 281. <i>Blush, Grandeur, blush ! proud Courts, withdraw your blaze ! &c.</i> In this sublime apostrophe,	they are not bid to <i>blush</i> because <i>outstript</i> in virtue, for no such contention is supposed : but for being <i>out-</i>
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B. And what? no monument, inscription, stone?
His race, his form, his name almost unknown?

P. Who builds a Church to God, and not to Fame,
Will never mark the marble with his Name: 286

Go, search it there, where to be born and die,
Of rich and poor makes all the history;
Enough, that Virtue fill'd the space between;
Prov'd, by the ends of being, to have been. 290

When Hopkins dies, a thousand lights attend
The wretch, who living sav'd a candle's end:
Should'ring God's altar a vile image stands,
Belies his features, nay extends his hands;
That live-long wig which Gorgon's self might own,
Eternal buckle takes in Parian stone. 296

VARIATIONS.

VER. 287. thus in the MS.

The Register inrolls him with his Poor,
Tells he was born and dy'd, and tells no more.
Just as he ought, he fill'd the Space between;
Then stole to rest, unheeded and unseen.

NOTES.

shined in their own proper
pretensions to Splendour and
Magnificence. SCRIBL.

VER. 287. *Go, search it
there,*] The Parish-register.

VER. 296. *Eternal buckle
takes in Parian stone.*] The

poet ridicules the wretched
taste of carving large perri-
wigs on busto's, of which
there are several vile exam-
ples in the tombs at West-
minster and elsewhere. P.

Behold what blessings Wealth to life can lend !
And see, what comfort it affords our end.

In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half-hung,
The floors of plaister, and the walls of dung, 300
On once a flock-bed, but repair'd with straw,
With tape-ty'd curtains, never meant to draw,
The George and Garter dangling from that bed,
Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,
Great Villers lies—alas ! how chang'd from him,
That life of pleasure, and that soul of whim ! 306
Gallant and gay, in Cliveden's proud alcove,
The bow'r of wanton Shrewsbury and love ;
Or just as gay, at Council, in a ring
Of mimick'd Statesmen, and their merry King. 310

NOTES.

VER. 305. *Great Villers lies—*] This Lord, yet more famous for his vices than his misfortunes, after having been possess'd of about 50,000 *l.* a year, and passed thro' many of the highest posts in the kingdom, died in the year 1687, in a remote inn in Yorkshire, reduced to the utmost misery. P.

VER. 307. *Cliveden*] A delightful palace, on the

banks of the Thames, built by the D. of Buckingham. P.

VER. 308. *Shrewsbury*] The Countess of Shrewsbury, a woman abandoned to gallantries. The Earl her husband was killed by the Duke of Buckingham in a duel ; and it has been said, that during the combat she held the Duke's horses in the habit of a page. P.

No Wit to flatter, left of all his store !

No Fool to laugh at, which he valu'd more.

There, Victor of his health, of fortune, friends,
And fame ; this lord of uselefs thousands ends.

His Grace's fate sage Cutler could foresee, 315
And well (he thought) advis'd him, " Live like me."
As well his Grace reply'd, " Like you, Sir John ?
" That I can do, when all I have is gone."

Resolve me, Reason, which of these is worse,
Want with a full, or with an empty purse ? 320
Thy life more wretched, Cutler, was confess'd,
Arise, and tell me, was thy death more bless'd ?

NOTES.

VER. 313. *There, Victor of his health, of fortune, friends, And fame—*] The term implies the difficulty he had to get the better of all these incumbrances. And it is true, as his history informs us, he had the impediment of good parts, which, from time to time, a little hindered and retarded his *Victories*.

VER. 319. *Resolve me, Reason, which of these is worse, Want with a full, or with an empty purse ?*] The poet did well in appealing to *Reason*, from the

parties concerned ; who, it is likely, had made but a very sorry decision. The *abhorrence* of an empty purse would have certainly perverted the judgment of *Want with a full one* : And the *longings* for a full one, would probably have as much misled *Want with an empty one*. Whereas *Reason resolves* this matter in a trice. There being a possibility that *Want with an empty purse* may be relieved ; but none, that *Want with a full purse* ever can.

EP. III. MORAL ESSAYS.

175

Cutler saw tenants break, and houses fall,
For very want; he could not build a wall.

His only daughter in a stranger's pow'r, 325

For very want; he could not pay a dow'r.

A few grey hairs his rev'rend temples crown'd,
'Twas very want that sold them for two pound.

What ev'n deny'd a cordial at his end,
Banish'd the doctor, and expell'd the friend? 330

What but a want, which you perhaps think mad,
Yet numbers feel, the want of what he had!

Cutler and Brutus, dying both exclaim,

"Virtue! and Wealth! what are ye but a name!"

Say, for such worth are other worlds prepar'd?

Or are they both, in this their own reward? 336

A knotty point! to which we now proceed.

But you are tir'd—I'll tell a tale——B. Agreed.

P. Where London's column, pointing at the skies
Like a tall bully, lifts the head, and lyes; 340

VARIATIONS.

VER. 337. in the former Editions,

That knotty point, my Lord, shall I discuss,

Or tell a tale?—A Tale.—It follows thus.

NOTES.

VER. 339. *Where Lon-* | ment, built in memory of
den's column,] The Monu- | the fire of London, with an

There dwelt a Citizen of sober fame,
 A plain good man, and Balaam was his name;
 Religious, punctual, frugal, and so forth;
 His word would pass for more than he was worth.
 One solid dish his week-day meal affords, 345
 An added pudding solemniz'd the Lord's :
 Constant at Church, and Change ; his gains were
 sure,

His givings rare, save farthings to the poor.

The Dev'l was piqu'd such saintship to behold,
 And long'd to tempt him like good Job of old : 350
 But Satan now is wiser than of yore,
 And tempts by making rich, not making poor.

Rouz'd by the Prince of Air, the whirlwinds sweep
 The surge, and plunge his Father in the deep ;
 Then full against his Cornish lands they roar, 355
 And two rich ship-wrecks bless the lucky shore.

NOTES.

inscription, importing that city to have been burnt by the Papists. P.

VER. 355. *Cornish*] The author has placed the scene of these shipwrecks in Cornwall, not only from their frequency on that coast, but from the inhumanity of the

inhabitants to those to whom that misfortune arrives : When a ship happens to be stranded there, they have been known to bore holes in it, to prevent it's getting off ; to plunder, and sometimes even to massacre the people : Nor has the

Sir Balaam now, he lives like other folks,
 He takes his chirping pint, and cracks his jokes :
 " Live like yourself," was soon my Lady's word ;
 And lo ! two puddings smoak'd upon the board. 360
 Asleep and naked as an Indian lay,
 An honest factor stole a Gem away :
 He pledg'd it to the knight ; the knight had wit,
 So kept the Di'mond, and the rogue was bit.
 Some scruple rose, but thus he eas'd his thought,
 " I'll now give six-pence where I gave a groat ; 366

NOTES.

Parliament of England been yet able wholly to suppress these barbarities. P.

VER. 360. *And lo ! &c.*] The poet had observ'd above, that when the luxuriously-selfish had got more than they knew how to use,

they would try to do *more than live* ; instead of imparting the least pittance of it to those whom fortune had reduced to do *less than live* : The VANITY of which chimerical project he well exposed in these lines :

What Riches give us let us then enquire.

Meat, Fire, and Cloaths. What more? Meat, Cloaths, and Fire.

But here, in one who had not yet learnt the art of disguising the Poverty of Wealth by the Refinements

of Luxury, he shews, with admirable humour, the ridicule of that project :

And lo ! two Puddings smoak'd upon the board.

“ Where once I went to church, I’ll now go twice—
 “ And am so clear too of all other vice.”

The Tempter saw his time ; the work he ply’d ;
 Stocks and Subscriptions pour on ev’ry side, 370
 ’Till all the Dæmon makes his full descent
 In one abundant show’r of Cent per Cent,
 Sinks deep within him, and possesses whole,
 Then dubs Director, and secures his soul.

Behold Sir Balaam, now a man of spirit, 375
 Ascribes his gettings to his parts and merit ;
 What late he call’d a Blessing, now was Wit,
 And God’s good Providence, a lucky Hit.
 Things change their titles, as our manners turn :
 His Compting-house employ’d the Sunday-morn ;
 Seldom at Church (’twas such a busy life) 381
 But duly sent his family and wife.

There (so the Dev’l ordain’d) one Christmas-tide
 My good old Lady catch’d a cold, and dy’d.

A Nymph of Quality admires our Knight ; 385
 He marries, bows at Court, and grows polite :
 Leaves the dull Cits, and joins (to please the fair)
 The well-bred cuckolds in St James’s air :
 First, for his Son a gay Commission buys,
 Who drinks, whores, fights, and in a duel dies : 390
 His daughter flaunts a Viscount’s tawdry wife ;
 She bears a Coronet and P—x for life.

EP. III. MORAL ESSAYS. 179

In Britain's Senate he a feat obtains,
 And one more Pensioner St Stephen gains.
 My Lady falls to play ; so bad her chance, 395
 He must repair it ; takes a bribe from France ;
 The House impeach him ; Coningsby harangues ;
 The Court forsake him, and Sir Balaam hangs :
 Wife, son, and daughter, Satan ! are thy own,
 His wealth, yet dearer, forfeit to the Crown : 400
 The Devil and the King divide the prize,
 And sad Sir Balaam curses God and dies.

IMITATIONS.

VER. 394. *And one more Pensioner St Stephen gains.]*
 —atque unum civem donare Sibyllæ. JUV.

NOTES.

VER. 401. *The Devil and the King divide the prize,]* This is to be understood in a very sober and decent sense ; as a satire only on such ministers of state, which history informs us have been found, who aided the devil in his temptations, in order to foment, if not to make, plots, for the sake of confiscations ; and by no means on the laws of forfeitures themselves : Whose necessity, equity, and even lenity, have been perfectly well vindicated, in that very learned and elegant discourse, intitled, *Some Considerations on the Law of Forfeitures for High-Treason.* Third Edition, Lond. 1748.

MORAL ESSAYS.

EPISTLE IV.

TO

Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington.

ARGUMENT.

Of the Use of RICHES.

The Vanity of Expence in People of Wealth and Quality. The abuse of the word Taste, § 13. That the first principle and foundation, in this as in every thing else, is Good Sense, § 40. The chief proof of it is to follow Nature, even in works of mere Luxury and Elegance. Instanced in Architecture and Gardening, where all must be adapted to the Genius and Use of the Place, and the Beauties not forced into it, but resulting from it, § 50. How men are disappointed in their most expensive undertakings, for want of this true Foundation, without which nothing can please long, if at all; and the best Examples

and Rules will but be perverted into something burdensome or ridiculous, § 65, &c. to 92. A description of the false Taste of Magnificence; the first grand Error of which is to imagine that Greatness consists in the Size and Dimension, instead of the Proportion and Harmony of the whole, § 97. and the second, either in joining together Parts incoherent, or too minutely resembling, or in the Repetition of the same too frequently, § 105, &c. A word or two of false Taste in Books, in Music, in Painting, even in Preaching and Prayer, and lastly in Entertainments, § 133, &c. Yet PROVIDENCE is justified in giving Wealth to be squandered in this manner, since it is dispersed to the Poor and Laborious part of mankind, § 169 [recurring to what is laid down in the first book, Ep. ii. and in the Epistle preceding this, § 159, &c.] What are the proper Objects of Magnificence, and a proper field for the Expence of Great Men, § 177, &c. and finally, the Great and Public Works which become a Prince, § 191, to the end.

E P I S T L E IV.

'TIS strange, the Miser should his Cares employ
 To gain those Riches he can ne'er enjoy :
 Is it less strange, the Prodigal should waste
 His wealth, to purchase what he ne'er can taste ?
 Not for himself he sees, or hears, or eats ; 5
 Artists must chuse his Pictures, Music, Meats :
 He buys for Topham, Drawings and Designs,
 For Pembroke Statues, dirty Gods, and Coins ;
 Rare monkish Manuscripts for Hearne alone,
 And Books for Mead, and Butterflies for Sloane. 10

EPISTLE IV.] The extremes of *Avarice* and *Profusion* being treated of in the foregoing Epistle ; this takes up one particular branch of the latter, the *Vanity of Expence* in people of wealth and quality ; and is therefore a corollary to the preceding, just as the Epistle on the *Characters of Women* is to that of the *Knowledge and Characters of Men*.

NOTES.

VER. 7. *Topham*] A Gentleman famous for a judicious collection of Drawings. P.

VER. 10. *And Books for*

Mead, and Butterflies for Sloane.] Two eminent Physicians ; the one had an excellent Library, the other the finest collection in Eu-



N. Blakey inv. et del.

Ravenet Sculp.

What brought S.^r Visto's ill-got Wealth to waste?
 Some Daemon whisper'd, Visto! have a Taste.
 Ep. on Taste.



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Think we all these are for himself? no more
Than his fine Wife, alas! or finer Whore.

For what has Virro painted, built, and planted?
Only to show, how many Tastes he wanted. 14
What brought Sir Visto's ill got wealth to waste?
Some Dæmon whisper'd, "Visto! have a Taste."
Heav'n visits with a Taste the wealthy fool,
And needs no Rod but Ripley with a Rule.
See! sportive fate, to punish aukward pride,
Bids Bubo build, and sends him such a Guide: 20

NOTES.

rope of natural curiosities ;
both men of great learning
and humanity. P.

VER. 12. *Than his fine
Wife, alas! or finer Whore.*
By the Author's manner of
putting together these two
different Utensils of *false
Magnificence*, it appears,
that, properly speaking, nei-
ther the *Wife* nor the *Whore*
is the real object of *modern
taste*, but the *Finery* only:
And whoever wears it, whe-
ther the *Wife* or the *Whore*,
it matters not; any fur-
ther than that the *latter* is
thought to deserve it best,
as appears from her having

most of it; and so indeed
becomes, by accident, the
more fashionable Thing of
the two. SCRIBL.

VER. 18. *Ripley*] This
man was a carpenter, em-
ployed by a first Minister,
who raised him to an Ar-
chitect, without any genius
in the art; and after some
wretched proofs of his in-
sufficiency in public Build-
ings, made him Comptrol-
ler of the Board of works. P.

VER. 19. *See! sportive
fate, to punish aukward
pride.*] Pride is one of the
greatest mischiefs, as well
as absurdities of our nature;

A standing sermon, at each year's expence,
That never Coxcomb reach'd Magnificence!

You show us, Rome was glorious, not profuse,
And pompous buildings once were things of Use.
Yet shall (my Lord) your just, your noble rules 25
Fill half the land with Imitating-Fools;
Who random drawings from your sheets shall take,
And of one beauty many blunders make;

VARIATIONS.

After *ŷ* 22, in the MS.

Must Bishops, Lawyers, Statesmen, have the skill
To build, to plant, judge paintings, what you will?
Then why not Kent as well our treaties draw,
Bridgman explain the Gospel, Gibbs the Law?

NOTES.

and therefore, as appears both from prophane and sacred History, has ever been the more peculiar object of divine vengeance. But *awkward Pride* intimates such abilities in its owner, as eases us of the apprehension of much *mischief* from it; so that the poet supposes such a one secure from the serious resentment of Heaven, though it may permit

fate or fortune to bring him into the public contempt and ridicule, which his native badness of heart so well deserves.

VER. 23. The Earl of Burlington was then publishing the Designs of Inigo Jones, and the Antiquities of Rome by Palladio. P.

VER. 28. *And of one beauty many blunders make;]* Because the road to Taste,

EP. IV. MORAL ESSAYS. 185

Load some vain Church with old Theatric state,
 Turn Arcs of triumph to a Garden-gate; 30
 Reverse your Ornaments, and hang them all
 On some patch'd dog-hole ek'd with ends of wall;
 Then clap four slices of Pilaster on't,
 That, lac'd with bits of rustic, makes a Front.
 Shall call the winds thro' long Arcades to roar, 35
 Proud to catch cold at a Venetian door;
 Conscious they act a true Palladian part,
 And if they starve, they starve by rules of art.

Oft have you hinted to your brother Peer,
 A certain truth, which many buy too dear: 40
 Something there is more needful than Expence,
 And something previous ev'n to Taste—'tis Sense:
 Good Sense, which only is the gift of Heav'n,
 And tho' no Science, fairly worth the seven:

NOTES.

like that to Truth, is but
one; and those to Error and
 Absurdity a *thousand*.

VER. 30. *Turn Arcs of
 triumph to a Garden-gate;*
 This absurdity seems to have
 arisen from an injudicious
 imitation of what these Build-
 ers might have heard of,

at the entrance of the an-
 tient Gardens of Rome: But
 they don't consider, that
 those were *public Gardens*,
 given to the people by some
 great man after a triumph;
 to which, therefore, *Arcs*
 of this kind were very suit-
 able ornaments.

A Light, which in yourself you must perceive; 45
Jones and Le Nôtre have it not to give.

To build, to plant, whatever you intend,
To rear the Column, or the Arch to bend,
To swell the Terras, or to sink the Grot;
In all, let Nature never be forgot. 50

But treat the Goddess like a modest fair,
Nor over-dress, nor leave her wholly bare;
Let not each beauty ev'ry where be spy'd,
Where half the skill is decently to hide.
He gains all points, who pleasingly confounds, 55
Surprizes, varies, and conceals the Bounds.

NOTES.

VER. 46. *Inigo Jones*, the celebrated Architect, and *M. Le Nôtre*, the designer of the best Gardens of France. P.

VER. 53. *Let not each beauty ev'ry where be spy'd,* For when the same beauty obtrudes itself upon you over and over; when it meets you full at whatever place you stop, or to whatever point you turn, then Nature loses her proper charms

of a *modest fair*; and you begin to hate and nauseate her as a prostitute.

VER. 54. *Where half the skill is decently to hide.*] If the poet was right in comparing the true dress of *Nature* to that of a *modest fair*, it is a plain consequence, that one half of the designer's art must be, *decently to hide*; as the other half is, *gracefully to discover*.

Consult the Genius of the Place in all ;
 That tells the Waters or to rise, or fall ;
 Or helps th'ambitious Hill the heav'ns to scale,
 Or scoops in circling theatres the Vale ; 60
 Calls in the Country, catches op'ning glades,
 Joins willing woods, and varies shades from shades ;
 Now breaks or now directs, th'intending Lines ;
 Paints as you plant, and, as you work, designs.

Still follow Sense, of ev'ry Art the Soul, 65
 Parts answ'ring parts shall slide into a whole,
 Spontaneous beauties all around advance,
 Start ev'n from Difficulty, strike from Chance ;
 Nature shall join you ; Time shall make it grow
 A Work to wonder at—perhaps a Stow. 70

Without it, proud Versailles ! thy glory falls ;
 And Nero's Terraces desert their walls :

NOTES.

VER. 66. *Parts answ'ring parts shall slide into a whole,*] i. e. shall not be forced, but go of themselves ; as if both the parts and whole were not of yours, but of Nature's making. The metaphor is taken from a piece of mechanism finished by some great master, where all the parts are so previ-

ously fitted, as to be easily put together by any ordinary workman : and each part slides into its place, as it were thro' a groove ready made for that purpose.

VER. 70. The seat and gardens of the Lord Viscount Cobham in Buckinghamshire. P.

VER. 72. *And Nero's*

The vast Parterres a thousand hands shall make,
 Lo! COBHAM comes, and floats them with a Lake :
 Or cut wide views thro' Mountains to the Plain, 75
 You'll wish your hill or shelter'd seat again.
 Ev'n in an ornament its place remark,
 Nor in an Hermitage set Dr Clarke.

NOTES.

Terraces desert their walls:] The expression is very significant. Had the *Walls* been said to *desert* the *Terraces*, this would have given us the image of a destruction, effected by time only; which had been foreign to the poet's intention; who is here speaking of the punishment of *unsupported Taste*, in the designed subversion of it, either by *good* or *bad*, as it happens; one of which is sure to do its business, and that soon; therefore it is with great propriety he says, that the *Terraces desert their walls*, which implies purpose and violence in their subversion.

VER. 74. *Lo! COBHAM comes, and floats them with a Lake:]* An high compliment to the noble person

on whom it is bestowed, as making him the *substitute of Good Sense*. — This office, in the original plan of the poem, was given to another Man of TASTE; who not having the SENSE to see a compliment was intended him, convinced the poet it did not belong to him.

VER. 75, 76. *Or cut wide views thro' Mountains to the Plain, You'll wish your hill or shelter'd seat again.]* This was done in Hertfordshire, by a wealthy citizen, at the expence of above 5000 l. by which means (merely to overlook a dead plain) he let in the north wind upon his house and parterre, which were before adorned and defended by beautiful woods. P.

VER. 78.—*set Dr Clarke.]*

Behold Villario's ten-years toil compleat ;
 His Quincunx darkens, his Espaliers meet ; 80
 The Wood supports the Plain, the parts unite,
 And strength of Shade contends with strength of
 Light ;

A waving Glow the bloomy beds display,
 Blushing in bright diversities of day,
 With silver-quiv'ring rills mæander'd o'er — 85
 Enjoy them, you ! Villario can no more ;
 Tir'd of the scene Parterres and Fountains yield,
 He finds at last he better likes a Field.

Thro' his young Woods how pleas'd Sabinus
 stray'd,
 Or sat delighted in the thick'ning shade, 90
 With annual joy the red'ning shoots to greet,
 Or see the stretching branches long to meet !
 His Son's fine Taste an op'ner Vista loves,
 Foe to the Dryads of his Father's groves ;

NOTES.

Dr S. Clarke's busto placed
 by the Queen in the Hermi-
 tage, while the Dr duely
 frequented the Court. P.

VER. 84. *Blushing in
 bright diversities of day,*
 i. e. The several colours of

the grove in bloom, give
 several different tints to the
 lights and shades.

VER. 94. *Foe to the Dry-
 ads of his Father's groves ;*
 Finely intimating, by this
 sublime classical image, that

One boundless Green, or flourish'd Carpet views,
 With all the mournful family of Yews ; 96
 The thriving plants ignoble broomsticks made,
 Now sweep those Alleys they were born to shade.

At Timon's Villa let us pass a day,
 Where all cry out, "What fums are thrown away!"

NOTES.

the Father's taste was <i>enthusiastical</i> ; in which passion there is always something great and noble; tho' it be too apt, in its flights, to leave <i>sense</i> behind it: and	this was the good man's case. But his Son's was a poor despicable <i>superstition</i> , a low sombrous passion, whose perversity of Taste could only gratify itself
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With all the mournful family of Yews.

VER. 95. The two extremes in parterres, which are equally faulty; a *boundless Green*, large and naked as a field, or a *flourish'd Carpet*, where the greatness and nobleness of the piece is lessened by being divided into too many parts, with scroll'd works and beds, of which the examples are frequent. P.

(particularly Yews, which are the most tonfile) as to destroy the nobler Forest-trees, to make way for such little ornaments as Pyramids of dark-green continually repeated, not unlike a Funeral procession. P.

VER. 96.—*mournful family of Yews*;] Touches upon the ill taste of those who are so fond of Ever-greens

VER. 99. *At Timon's Villa*] This description is intended to comprize the principles of a false Taste of Magnificence, and to exemplify what was said before, that nothing but Good Sense can attain it. P.

EP. IV. MORAL ESSAYS. 191

So proud, so grand ; of that stupendous air, 101
Soft and Agreeable come never there.

Greatness, with Timon, dwells in such a draught
As brings all Brobdignag before your thought.

To compass this, his building is a Town, 105
His pond an Ocean, his parterre a Down :

Who but must laugh, the Master when he sees,
A puny insect, shiv'ring at a breeze !

Lo, what huge heaps of littleness around !

The whole, a labour'd Quarry above ground. 110

Two Cupids squirt before : a Lake behind
Improves the keenness of the Northern wind.

His Gardens next your admiration call,
On ev'ry side you look, behold the Wall !

No pleasing Intricacies intervene, 115

No artful wildness to perplex the scene ;

NOTES.

VER. 104.—*all Brobdignag*] A region of giants in the satires of *Gulliver*.

VER. 109. *Lo ! what huge heaps of littleness around,*] *Grandeur* in building, as in the human frame, takes not its denomination from the

body, but the *soul* of the work: when the soul therefore is lost or incumber'd in its envelope, the unanimated parts, how *huge* soever, are not members of grandeur, but mere *heaps of littleness*.

Grove nods at grove, each Alley has a brother,
 And half the platform just reflects the other.
 The suff'ring eye inverted Nature sees,
 Trees cut to Statues, Statues thick as trees; 120
 With here a Fountain, never to be play'd;
 And there a Summer-house, that knows no shade;
 Here Amphitrite sails thro' myrtle bow'rs;
 There Gladiators fight, or die in flow'rs;
 Un-water'd see the drooping sea-horse mourn, 125
 And swallows roost in Nilus' dusty Urn.

My Lord advances with majestic mien,
 Smit with the mighty pleasure, to be seen:

NOTES.

VER. 117, 118. *Grove nods at grove, each Alley has a brother, And half the platform just reflects the other.*] This is exactly the two puddings of the citizen in the foregoing fable, only served up a little more magnificently: But both on the same absurd principle of wrong taste, viz. that one can never have too much of a good thing.

Ibid. Grove nods at grove, &c.] The exquisite humour of this expression a-

rises solely from its significance. These *groves*, that have no meaning, but very near relation-ship, can express themselves only like twin-ideots by *nods*; which just serve to let us understand, that they know one another, as having been nursed, and brought up by one common parent.

VER. 124. The two Statues of the *Gladiator pug-nans* and *Gladiator moriens*. P.

But soft—by regular approach—not yet—
First thro' the length of yon hot Terrace sweat; 130
And when up ten steep slopes you've drag'd your
thighs,

Just at his Study-door he'll blefs your eyes.

His Study! with what Authors is it stor'd?

In Books, not Authors, curious is my Lord;
To all their dated Backs he turns you round: 135

These Aldus printed, those Du Suëil has bound.

Lo some are Vellom, and the rest as good

For all his Lordship knows, but they are Wood.

For Locke or Milton 'tis in vain to look,

These shelves admit not any modern book. 140

NOTES.

VER. 130. The *Approaches* and *Communication* of house with garden, or of one part with another, ill judged, and inconvenient. P.

VER. 133. *His Study!* &c.] The false Taste in Books; a satire on the vanity in collecting them, more frequent in men of Fortune than the study to understand them. Many de-

light chiefly in the elegance of the print, or of the binding; some have carried it so far, as to cause the upper shelves to be filled with painted books of wood; others pique themselves so much upon books in a language they do not understand, as to exclude the most useful in one they do. P.

And now the Chapel's silver bell you hear,
 That summons you to all the Pride of Pray'r :
 Light quirks of Music, broken and uneven,
 Make the soul dance upon a Jig to Heav'n.
 On painted Cielings you devoutly stare, 145
 Where sprawl the Saints of Verrio or Laguerre,
 On gilded clouds in fair expansion lie,
 And bring all Paradise before your eye.

NOTES.

VER. 142. *That summons you to all the Pride of Pray'r :*] This absurdity is very happily expressed; *Pride*, of all human follies, being the first we should leave behind us when we approach the sacred altar. But he who could take *Meanness* for *Magnificence*, might easily mistake *Humility* for *Meanness*.

VER. 143. The false Taste in *Music*, improper to the subjects, as of light airs in churches, often practised by the organists, &c. P.

VER. 145. — And in *Painting* (from which even Italy is not free) & snaked

figures in Churches, &c. which has obliged some Popes to put draperies on some of those of the best masters. P.

VER. 146. *Where sprawl the Saints of Verrio, or Laguerre.*] The fine image here given in a single word, admirably exposes the unnatural position of the picture, and the too natural postures of its female figures.

Ibid. Verrio or Laguerre.] Verrio (Antonio) painted many cielings, &c. at Windsor, Hampton-court, &c. and Laguerre at Blenheim-castle, and other places. P.

EP. IV. MORAL ESSAYS. 195

To rest, the Cushion and soft Dean invite,
Who never mentions Hell to ears polite. 150

But hark ! the chiming Clocks to dinner call ;
A hundred footsteps scrape the marble Hall :
The rich Buffet well-colour'd Serpents grace,
And gaping Tritons spew to wash your face.
Is this a dinner ? this a Genial room ? 155
No, 'tis a Temple, and a Hecatomb.

A solemn Sacrifice, perform'd in state,
You drink by measure, and to minutes eat.
So quick retires each flying course, you'd swear
Sancho's dread Doctor and his Wand were there.

NOTES.

VER. 150. *Who never mentions Hell to ears polite.*]

This is a fact ; a reverend Dean preaching at Court, threatned the sinner with punishment in " a place " which he thought it not " decent to name in so polite an assembly." P.

VER. 153. Taxes the incongruity of *Ornaments* (tho' sometimes practised by the ancients) where an open mouth ejects the water into a fountain, or where the shocking images of serpents,

&c. are introduced in Grotto's or Buffets. P.

VER. 155, *Is this a dinner ? &c.*] The proud Festivals of some men are here set forth to ridicule, where pride destroys the ease, and formal regularity all the pleasurable enjoyment of the entertainment. P.

VER. 156. — *a Hecatomb*] Alluding to the *hundred footsteps* before.

VER. 160. *Sancho's dread Doctor*] See *Don Quixote*, chap. xlvii. P.

Between each Act the trembling salvers ring, 161
 From soup to sweet-wine, and God bless the King.
 In plenty starving, tantaliz'd in state,
 And complaisantly help'd to all I hate,
 Treated, caress'd, and tir'd, I take my leave, 165
 Sick of his civil Pride from Morn to Eve;
 I curse such lavish cost, and little skill,
 And swear no Day was ever past so ill.

Yet hence the Poor are cloath'd, the Hungry fed;
 Health to himself, and to his Infants bread 170
 The Lab'rer bears: What his hard Heart denies,
 His charitable Vanity supplies.

Another age shall see the golden Ear
 Imbrown the Slope, and nod on the Parterre,
 Deep Harvests bury all his pride has plann'd, 175
 And laughing Ceres re-assume the land.

Who then shall grace, or who improve the Soil?
 Who plants like BATHURST, or who builds like
 BOYLE.

NOTES.

VER. 169. *Yet hence the Poor, &c.*] The *Moral* of the whole, where PROVIDENCE is justified in giving Wealth to those who squander it in this manner. A bad Taste employs more hands, and diffuses Expence more than a good one. This recurs to what is laid down in Book i. Epist. II. § 230—7, and in the Epistle preceding this, § 161, &c. P.

EP. IV. MORAL ESSAYS.

197

'Tis Use alone that sanctifies Expence,
And Splendor borrows all her rays from Sense. 180

His Father's Acres who enjoys in peace,
Or makes his Neighbours glad, if he encrease :
Whose chearful Tenants bless their yearly toil,
Yet to their Lord owe more than to the soil
Whose ample Lawns are not asham'd to feed 185
The milky heifer and deserving steed ;
Whose rising Forests, not for pride or show,
But future Buildings, future Navies, grow :
Let his plantations stretch from down to down,
First shade a Country, and then raise a Town. 190

NOTES.

VER. 179, 180. *'Tis Use alone that sanctifies Expence, And Splendor borrows all her rays from sense.*] Here the poet, to make the *examples of good Taste* the better understood, introduces them with a summary of his *Precepts* in these two sublime lines: for, the consulting *Use* is *beginning with Sense*; and the making *Splendor* or *Taste* borrow all its rays from thence, is *going on with Sense*, after she has led us up to *Taste*. The

art of this can never be sufficiently admired. But the Expression is equal to the Thought. This *sanctifying* of expence gives us the idea of something consecrated and set apart for sacred uses; and indeed, it is the idea under which it may be properly considered: For wealth employed according to the *intention* of Providence, is its true consecration; and the real uses of humanity were certainly *first* in its *intention*.

You too proceed ! make falling Arts your care,
 Erect new wonders, and the old repair ;
 Jones and Palladio to themselves restore,
 And be whate'er Vitruvius was before :
 'Till Kings call forth th' Ideas of your mind, 195
 (Proud to accomplish what such hands design'd,)
 Bid Harbours open, public Ways extend,
 Bid Temples, worthier of the God, ascend ;

NOTES.

VER. 195, 197, &c.
 'Till Kings — Bid Harbours
 open, &c.] The poet after
 having touched upon the
 proper objects of Magnifi-
 cence and Expencc, in the
 private works of great men,
 comes to those great and
 publick works which be-
 come a prince. This Poem

was published in the year
 1732, when some of the
 new-built churches, by the
 act of Queen Anne, were
 ready to fall, being founded
 in boggy land (which is sa-
 tirically alluded to in our
 author's imitation of Hor.
 Lib. ii. Sat. 2.

Shall half the new-built Churches round thee fall)

others were vilely executed,
 thro' fraudulent cabals be-
 tween undertakers, officers,
 &c. Dagenham breach had
 done very great mischiefs ;
 many of the Highways
 throughout England were
 hardly passable ; and most
 of those which were repair-

ed by Turnpikes were made
 jobbs for private lucre, and
 infamously executed, even
 to the entrances of Lon-
 don itself : The proposal of
 building a Bridge at West-
 minster had been petition'd
 against and rejected ; but in
 two years after the publica-

Bid the broad Arch the dang'rous Flood contain,
 The Mole projected break the roaring Main; 200
 Back to his bounds their subject Sea command,
 And roll obedient Rivers thro' the Land:
 These Honours, Peace to happy Britain brings,
 These are Imperial Works, and worthy Kings.

NOTES.

tion of this poem, an Act for building a Bridge pass'd thro' both houses. After many debates in the committee, the execution was left to the carpenter above-mentioned, who would have made it a wooden one; to which our author alludes in these lines,

Who builds a Bridge that never drove a pile?

Should Ripley venture, all the world would smile.

See the notes on that place. P.



MORAL ESSAYS.

EPISTLE V.

T O

Mr *A D D I S O N*.

Occasion'd by his Dialogues on MEDALS.

SEE the wild Waste of all-devouring years!
 How Rome her own sad Sepulchre appears,
 With nodding arches, broken temples spread!
 The very Tombs now vanish'd like their dead!

NOTES.

THIS was originally written in the year 1715, when Mr Addison intended to publish his book of medals; it was some time before he was Secretary of State; but not published	till Mr Tickell's Edition of his works; at which time the verses on Mr Craggs, which conclude the poem, were added, viz. in 1720. P. EPIST. V.] As the third Epistle treated of the ex-
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Imperial wonders rais'd on Nations spoil'd, 5
Where mix'd with Slaves the groaning Martyr
toil'd :

Huge Theatres, that now unpeopled Woods,
Now drain'd a distant country of her Floods :
Fanes, which admiring Gods with pride survey,
Statues of Men, scarce less alive than they ! 10

NOTES.

tremes of *Avarice* and *Pro-
fusion* ; and the fourth took
up one particular branch of
the latter, namely, the *va-
nity of expence* in people of
wealth and quality, and was
therefore a corollary to the
third ; so this treats of one
circumstance of that *Vanity*,
as it appears in the common
collectors of old coins ; and

is, therefore, a corollary to
the fourth.

VER. 6. *Where mix'd
with slaves the groaning
Martyr toil'd*] The inatten-
tive reader might wonder
how this circumstance came
to find a place here. But
let him compare it with *7*
13, 14, and he will see the
Reason,

*Barbarian blindness, Christian zeal conspire,
And Papal piety, and Gothic fire.*

For the *Slaves* mentioned
above were of the same na-
tion with the *Barbarians*
here : and the *Christians*
here, the Successors of the
Martyrs there : Providence
ordaining, that *these* should

ruin what *these* were so in-
juriously employed in rear-
ing : for the poet never
loseth sight of his great prin-
ciple.

VER. 9. *Fanes, which
admiring Gods with pride*

Some felt the silent stroke of mould'ring age,
 Some hostile fury, some religious rage.
 Barbarian blindness, Christian zeal conspire,
 And Papal piety, and Gothic fire.
 Perhaps, by its own ruins sav'd from flame, 15
 Some bury'd marble half preserves a name;
 That Name the learn'd with fierce disputes pursue,
 And give to Titus old Vespasian's due.

Ambition sigh'd : She found it vain to trust
 The faithless Column and the crumbling Bust : 20
 Huge moles, whose shadow stretch'd from shore to
 shore,
 Their ruins perish'd, and their place no more !

NOTES.

survey,] These Gods were the then Tyrants of Rome, to whom the Empire rais'd Temples. The epithet, *admiring*, conveys a strong ri-

dicule ; that passion, in the opinion of Philosophy, always conveying the ideas of ignorance and misery :

*Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,
 Solaque quæ possit facere & servare beatum.*

Admiration implying our ignorance of other things ; *pride*, our ignorance of ourselves.

VER. 18. *And give to Titus old Vespasian's due.*]

A fine insinuation of the entire want of Taste in Antiquaries ; whose ignorance of Characters misleads them, (supported only by a name) against Reason and History.

Convinc'd, she now contracts her vast design,
And all her Triumphs shrink into a Coin.

A narrow orb each crouded conquest keeps, 25
Beneath her Palm here sad Judæa weeps.

Now scantier limits the proud Arch confine,
And scarce are seen the prostrate Nile or Rhine;
A small Euphrates thro' the piece is roll'd,
And little Eagles wave their wings in gold. 30

The Medal, faithful to its charge of fame,
Thro' climes and ages bears each form and name:
In one short view subjected to our eye
Gods, Emp'rors, Heroes, Sages, Beauties, lie.
With sharpen'd sight pale Antiquaries pore, 35
Th' inscription value, but the rust adore.

NOTES.

VER. 25. *A narrow Orb each crowded Conquest keeps,*] A ridicule on the pompous title of *Orbis Romanus*, which the Romans gave to their empire.

VER. 27. — *the proud Arch*] i. e. The triumphal Arch, which was generally an enormous mass of building.

VER. 35. *With sharpen'd sight pale Antiquaries pore,*] *Microscopic glasses*, invented by philosophers to discover the beauties in the minuter works of nature, ridiculously applied by Antiquaries, to detect the cheats of counterfeit medals.

This the blue varnish, that the green endears,
 The sacred rust of twice ten hundred years !
 To gain Pescennius one employs his schemes,
 One grasps a Cecrops in ecstatic dreams. 40
 Poor Vadius, long with learned spleen devour'd,
 Can taste no pleasure since his Shield was scour'd :
 And Curio, restless by the Fair-one's side,
 Sighs for an Otho, and neglects his bride.
 Theirs is the Vanity, the Learning thine : 45
 Touch'd by thy hand, again Rome's glories shine ;
 Her Gods, and god-like Heroes rise to view,
 And all her faded garlands bloom a-new.
 Nor blush, these studies thy regard engage ;
 These pleas'd the Fathers of poetic rage ; 50

NOTES.

VER. 37. *This the blue varnish, that the green endears,*] i. e. This a collector of silver ; That, of brass coins.

VER. 41. *Poor Vadius*] See his history, and that of his Shield, in the *Memoirs of Scriblerus*.

VER. 49 *Nor blush, these studies thy regard engage ;*] A senseless affectation which

some writers of eminence have betrayed ; who when fortune, or their talents, have raised them to a condition to do without those arts, for which only they gained our esteem, have pretended to think letters below their Character. This false shame M. Voltaire has very well, and with proper indignation, exposed in his

The verse and sculpture bore an equal part,
And Art reflected images to Art.

Oh when shall Britain, conscious of her claim,
Stand emulous of Greek and Roman fame ?
In living medals see her wars enroll'd, 55
And vanquish'd realms supply recording gold ?
Here, rising bold, the Patriot's honest face ;
There Warriors frowning in historic brass :
Then future ages with delight shall see
How Plato's, Bacon's, Newton's looks agree ; 60

NOTES.

account of Mr Congreve :
“ He had one Defect, which
“ was, his entertaining too
“ mean an Idea of his first
“ Profession, (that of a Wri-
“ ter) tho' 'twas to this he
“ ow'd his Fame and For-
“ tune. He spoke of his
“ Works as of Trifles that
“ were beneath him ; and
“ hinted to me in our
“ first Conversation, that I
“ should visit him upon no
“ other Foot than that of
“ a Gentleman, who led a
“ Life of plainness and sim-

“ plicity. I answer'd, that,
“ had he been so unfortu-
“ nate as to be a mere Gen-
“ tleman, I should never
“ have come to see him ;
“ and I was very much
“ disgusted at so unseason-
“ able a piece of vanity.
*Letters concerning the Eng-
lish Nation, xix.*

VER. 53. *Oh when shall
Britain, &c.*] A compli-
ment to one of Mr Addi-
son's papers in the Spectator
on this subject.

Or in fair series laurell'd Bards be shown,
 A Virgil there, and here an Addison.
 Then shall thy CRAGGS (and let me call him mine)
 On the cast ore, another Pollio, shine ;
 With aspect open, shall erect his head, 65
 And round the orb in lasting notes be-read,
 " Statesman, yet friend to Truth ! of soul sincere,
 " In action faithful, and in honour clear ;
 " Who broke no promise, serv'd no private end,
 " Who gain'd no title, and who lost no friend ;
 " Ennobled by himself, by all approv'd,
 " And prais'd, unenvy'd, by the Muse he lov'd."

NOTES.

VER. 67. "*Statesman, yet friend to truth, &c.*" It should be remembered that this poem was written to be printed before Mr Addison's *Discourse on Medals*, in which there is the following censure of long legends upon coins: "The first fault I find with a modern legend is its diffusiveness. You have sometimes the whole side of a medal over-run with

" it. One would fancy the
 " Author had a Design of
 " being Ciceronian—but
 " it is not only the tediousness of these inscriptions that I find fault with ; supposing them of a moderate length, why must they be in verse ? We should be surprized to see the title of a serious book in rhyme."—
 Dial. iii.

NOTES.

VER. ult. *And prais'd,* unenvy'd, *by the Muse he lov'd.*] It was not likely that men acting in so different spheres as were those of Mr Craggs and Mr Pope, should have their friend-

ship disturbed by Envy. We must suppose then that some circumstances in the friendship of Mr Pope and Mr Addison are hinted at in this place.



F I N I S.

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